A HISTORY OF PAINTING

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A HISTORY OF PAINTING

BY HALDANE MACFALL

WITH A PREFACE BY

FRANK BRANGWYN

The Renaissance Edition

OF THE

HISTORY OF PAINTING

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189



XV

TITIAN

1489?–1576

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"BACCHUS AND ARIADNE"

(National Gallery)

Ariadne, daughter of Minos, King of Crete, who has been deserted by Theseus, is surprised by Bacchus and his train of nymphs, fauns, and satyrs on their return from a sacrifice. Bacchus immediately violently enamoured of her, leaps from his chariot to go to her. In the distance are the white sails of the departing ship of Theseus. Above Ariadne is the constellation of Ariadne's crown, which the god presented to her on their wedding.

Painted in oil on canvas. 5 ft. 9 in. h. × 6 ft. 3 in. w. (1·752 × 1·905).

A
HISTORY OF PAINTING

BY HALDANE MACFALL

WITH A PREFACE BY

FRANK BRANGWYN

IN EIGHT VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATED WITH
TWO HUNDRED PLATES IN COLOUR

VOL. II

THE RENAISSANCE IN VENICE



DANA ESTES AND CO.
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FOREWORD

In the days of the Italian Renaissance, whether in Florence or Venice, an artist had to reach to large achievement if his name were to endure. Writing was a rare gift, and the biography of artists even rarer. Gossip tradition kept green the names of the great achievers or of interesting personalities —especially if scandal clung to them.

Fortunately, all artists utter themselves in their art—for they utter their inwardness in that they state the sensations that were produced upon them.

As regards the Italians, we have had to rely chiefly upon their Lives, written by Giorgio Vasari, a pupil of Michelangelo. His work has been invaluable; and without it there must largely have been a blank silence. Founded upon studio gossip and the like tradition, Vasari's witness is not always accurate in detail; but it is on the whole astoundingly true—as borne out by recent research.

Born in 1512, *Vasari lived his sixty years, during the supreme flowering of the Florentine and Umbrian genius. A mediocre painter and architect—he was kin to Luca Signorelli —his chief work was wrought in Arezzo. He was a better copyist than creative artist; and fortunately turned his hand to writing. Bitten with the parochial loyalties of his day, he wrote of everything Florentine with rose-coloured ink; but he kept his blackest gall for Venice. It was a happy conversation which led him to write the lives of the great artists*

from Cimabue to his own day. But the work is more valuable when he praises than when he blames. Concerning Venice, therefore, we are not able to rely on him as in the Florentine achievement. When he sanded the last scrawl of ink upon his paper in 1547, *he set up—all unwitting of it—the book of Italian art.*

But the modern scientific research of such men as Morelli and Berenson have done astounding service in clearing up Vasari's vaguenesses; and in the tangled web of Venetian art, Berenson in particular has done enormous service. His four volumes on Italian Art should be in every library. As long as he is working scientifically upon attributions he has no rival. And if, when he turns to the significance of art, he flounder on occasion, and though he has a habit now and then of inventing terms for art and in elaborating theories that are thin enough, the student can well pass these by, and take his estimates with a grain of salt, in order to avail himself of the invaluable scientific research to which this brilliant man has devoted his career. Other men of keen insight are also studying different masters, such as Professor Langton Douglas, thereby steadying the too-ready acceptance of wild-cat surmise. Roger Fry's researches as to Giovanni Bellini; *Foulkes's essays on* Foppa; *Maud Cruttwell on* Mantegna; *Rushforth on* Crivelli; *Cook's valuable little volume on* Giorgione; *Crowe and Cavalcaselle's* Titian, *and Gronau's fine work on the same master; Berenson's* Lorenzo Lotto; *Holborn's* Tintoretto; *Fry's* Paolo Veronese; *all increase knowledge. Berenson's volumes on* The Venetian Painters *and* The Painters of North Italy *are valuable in giving careful lists of the principal undoubted works of each painter; Claude Philips's two Portfolio monographs, the* Earlier *and* Later Work of Titian, *should be in every student's hands, not only*

FOREWORD

for their keen insight but for the charm of their style and the atmosphere of the age which he creates.

I would particularly recommend the lists of undoubted works published by Berenson in his four volumes on the Italian Art. They may err on the side of exclusion; but, 'tis safer so. Gronau, one of the best authorities on Titian, admits several of Berenson's questionable pictures—though, of course, all masters had their bad days, and Titian could be a very sloven on occasion, so long as his colour-faculty had full range. But, after all, it is the art that matters; whether it be good art is everything—whether this or that artist created it is another affair.

Monographs on this, that, and the other artist abound. I am here concerned with the general impression of the whole achievement of the genius of Venice, and of the Paduan and other schools that are kin to Venice. So let us to the handsome business.

HALDANE MACFALL.

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ITALY
VENETIA
Udine
Trieste
Vicenza
Milan
Brescia
Como
Bergamo
Novara
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
Verona
Venice
Turin
Pavia
Cremona
Mantua
Padua
Adige
Alessandria
Piacenza
Parma
Reggio
Ferrara
Genoa
Modena
Bologna
Ravenna
Forli
Spezia
Carrara
Lucca
Florence
Pisa
Arno
Leghorn
TUSCANY
LIGURIAN SEA
Arezzo
Siena
Ancona
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Perugia
UMBRIA
Spoleto
Cortona
CORSICA
Civitavecchia
Tivoli
Rome
R. Tiber
Foggia
Capua
Naples
Amalfi
Salerno
Ischia
Capri
TYRRHENIAN SEA
SARDINIA
Messina
Palermo
Reggio
SICILY
Catania
Otranto
HALDANE MACFALL

A HISTORY OF PAINTING

VENICE

VENICE

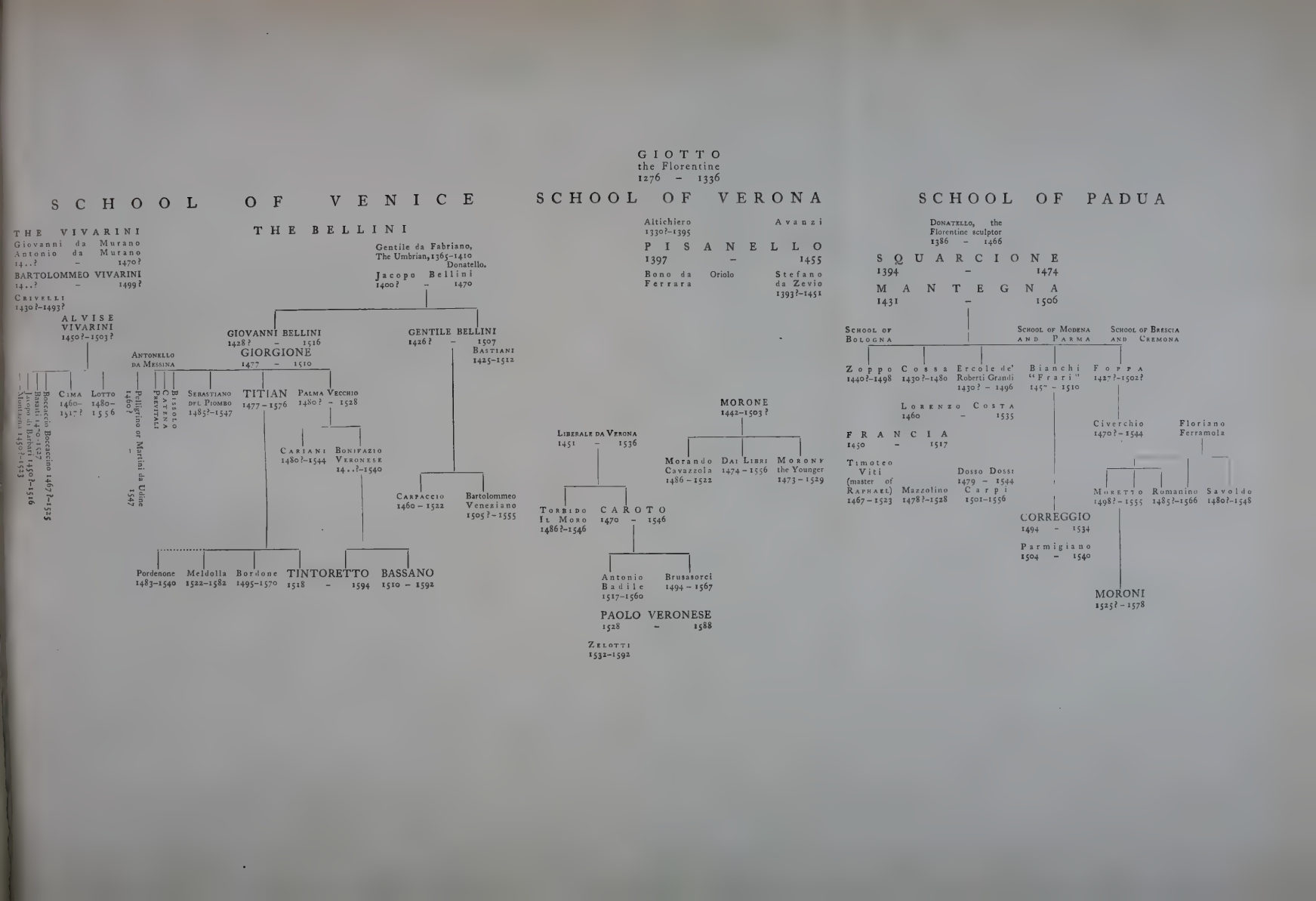
THE city of Venice, rising out of the waters, as Philip de Commines set eyes upon her on the edge of the fifteen-hundreds—"the most triumphant city that I have ever seen"—lay to either side of the Grand Canal; on the east the Piazza di San Marco, flanked by its Church of the Doges, far-famed San Marco, and their sumptuous Palace with its chamber of the Grand Council, seat of the government of the Republic; on the west, the Piazza of the Rialto, the mart of the world, where forgathered her merchants. A bridge by the Rialto, spanning the canal, joined the two great squares by the way of the winding thoroughfare that is called the *Merceria*.

And as Venice was the most triumphant city to old Philip de Commines, so, her greatness long departed from her, was she the magic city of Byron, who saw "from out the waves her structures rise as at a stroke of the magician's wand." And to the poets she has ever been the dream-land city. That the beautiful city in the waters, a vast gallery of pictures herself, should escape a majestic artistic utterance were incredible. That her vast wealth and consequence should allow the tongue of poetry to be still were incredible—and that poesy was destined to burst inevitably into song in the realm of colour. Her love of pomp and pageantry compelled it; and that her utterance took the form of colour as against the Tuscan delight in the dramatic sense of line proved her nearer kinship to the faculty of painting. Her artists were not torn

PAINTING

VENICE

between architecture and science and sculpture and a dozen handicrafts. They concentrated all their strength on painting. There was that also that contributed to her fulfilment in colour. The Tuscans founded their art of painting on sculpture; the Venetians on music. To this day the word Venice rouses in our senses the gorgeous colour of fairy palaces that arise out of the reflecting flood, mirroring her myriad beauties; but with it all, amidst the sense of splendid pageantry, the ear listens for the plucked strings of guitars that make her music, and song and thrummed mandolin and the sound of violins take part in her decayed magnificence. So was it in the days of her greatness. Her artists were also musicians, or delighted in music. The very names of musical instruments, themselves musical, come from Venice. And you shall find her artists ever eager to set the exquisite forms of musical instruments in their pictured scenes of life—nay, the very angel-children that sit at the feet of the Mother of God in her great altarpieces play upon viols or thrum the strings of lutes. As early as Giovanni Bellini, you may see in his famed *Madonna of San Giobbe* a lute-playing child at the Mary's feet, with others below, making music on viols and lutes. Carpaccio, in his famed *Presentation*, sets at the Mary's feet a child-player upon the lute, and at either hand of the lute-player those who utter music on flute and viol. Cima again sets players upon lute and viol at the Virgin's feet in his *Virgin Enthroned, with Six Saints*. So with others. Thus, whether witting of it or not, at any rate by instinct, the painters of Venice came to employ colour in its true music-like rhythm before all else, and thereby reached to the significance of pure colour.


GIOTTO
the Florentine
1276 – 1336
SCHOOL OF VENICE
THE VIVARINI
Giovanni da Murano
Antonio da Murano
14..? – 1470?
BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI
14..? – 1499?
CRIVELLI
1430?–1493?
ALVISE VIVARINI
1450?–1503?
THE BELLINI
Gentile da Fabriano,
The Umbrian, 1365–1410
Donatello,
Jacopo Bellini
1400? – 1470
GIOVANNI BELLINI
1428? – 1516
GIORGIONE
1477 – 1510
GENTILE BELLINI
1426? – 1507
BASTIANI
1425–1512
ANTONELLO DA MESSINA
CIMA
1460–1517?
LOTTO
1480–1556
Pellegrino or Martini da Udine
1460? – 1547
PREVITALI
CATENA
BISSOLO
SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO
1485?–1547
TITIAN
1477 – 1576
PALMA VECCHIO
1480? – 1528
CARIANI
1480?–1544
BONIFAZIO VERONESE
14..?–1540
CARPACCIO
1460 – 1522
Bartolommeo Veneziano
1505? – 1555
Pordenone
1483–1540
Meldolla
1522–1582
Bordone
1495–1570
TINTORETTO
1518 – 1594
BASSANO
1510 – 1592
SCHOOL OF VERONA
Aitichiero
1330?–1395
Avanzi
PISANELLO
1397 – 1455
Bono da Ferrara
Oriolo
Stefano da Zevio
1393?–1451
MORONE
1442–1503?
LIBERALE DA VERONA
1451 – 1536
Morando Cavazzola
1486 – 1522
DAI LIBRI
1474 – 1556
MORONY the Younger
1473 – 1529
TORBIDO IL MORO
1486?–1546
CAROTO
1470 – 1546
Antonio Badile
1517–1560
Brusasorci
1494 – 1567
PAOLO VERONESE
1528 – 1588
ZELOTTI
1532–1592
SCHOOL OF PADUA
DONATELLO, the Florentine sculptor
1386 – 1466
SQUARCIONE
1394 – 1474
MANTEGNA
1431 – 1506
SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA
SCHOOL OF MODENA AND PARMA
SCHOOL OF BRESCIA AND CREMONA
ZOPPO
1440?–1498
COSSA
1430?–1480
ERCOLE DE' ROBERTI GRANDI
1430? – 1496
BIANCHI "FRARI"
145? – 1510
FOPPA
1427?–1502?
LORENZO COSTA
1460 – 1535
FRANCIA
1450 – 1517
Civerchio
1470?–1544
Floriano Ferramola
Timoteo Viti
(master of RAPHAEL)
1467–1523
Mazzolino
1478?–1528
Dosso Dossi
1479 – 1544
Carpi
1501–1556
MORETTO
1498?–1555
Romanino
1485?–1566
Savoldo
1480?–1548
CORREGGIO
1494 – 1534
Parmigiano
1504 – 1540
MORONI
1525? – 1578

CHAPTER I

OF THE VENICE INTO WHICH THE RENAISSANCE WAS BORN

OF THE VENICE INTO WHICH THE RE-NAISSANCE WAS BORN

Venice was the most isolated of all the Italian states, owing to her position, and to her interests being centred in the Levant. The fall of the Greek Empire in 1204 placed Venice in the supreme position in the East, her most serious rival being Genoa; and from 1261 the two republics wasted their resources and strength for close upon a hundred years in war, thereby surrendering the East to the Turk and bringing ruin upon themselves. Venice was building the while a constitution that was to give her a position in Italy in marked contrast with the other Italian cities, which was to enable her to develop a vigour and a steadiness of political aim and action that brought to her in the fourteen-hundreds a vast power upon the mainland.

Her government, compared with that of Florence, was a simple machine. Untrammelled by a landed nobility, she was not racked by revolts of her citizens to overthrow their tyrannies. Venice remained outside the faction fights of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. At the head of her government was the Doge, elected for life, whose authority became limited by a set of councillors—a sovereign in form, and the centre of a mighty pomp and ceremony, but without power of initiative. To win to authority he needed to persuade, not to command. At first he had been elected by the whole people. With

1268 came in the system of the ballot, whereby the members of the Grand Council over thirty years of age drew balls from an urn, of whom the thirty who drew the gilt balls were reduced to nine by a second ballot, the nine electing forty who were reduced by lot to twelve, who elected twenty-five who were reduced by lot to nine, who elected forty-five who were reduced to eleven, who chose forty-one, who then took oath and voted for the Doge by at least twenty-five votes; and with the Doge were elected six ducal Councillors, who had to be consulted on every matter. Thus Venice was governed in fact by seven ducal Councillors, the Doge being one. The routine of the State was conducted by a cabinet of ministers called the *Collegio*; and the functions of the State were carried on by a hundred and sixty members called the *Pregadi*.

The basis of the constitution was the originally popularly elected Grand Council; but this, in 1297, became an oligarchy, elected by an elaborate system of votings that kept the body within the limits of the rich class; thus power from 1319 became an hereditary privilege. But this division of the citizens into a noble and lower class caused trouble; the dangerous plot of 1310, under Tiepolo, created the stern system of detection for the repression of future revolts that set up the notorious Council of Ten as a yearly elected committee of public safety. By 1335 this aristocratic Council of Ten was firmly entrenched in the State, and rapidly assumed complete power.

Such was the Venice that, during the thirteen-hundreds, saw the final struggle for command of the eastern trade between her and the rival maritime republic

OF THE VENICE INTO WHICH THE RENAISSANCE WAS BORN

of Genoa. The fortunes of the day had first been with Venice; then in 1261 the Genoese aided to overthrow the Latin Empire and established Michael Palaeologus in Constantinople. Pisa was flung out of the triple rivalry in 1284 by the battle of Meloria. For the next century Genoa and Venice fought out their destinies on fairly equal terms, well matched in wealth and sea-going strength. Cyprus was the cockpit. It was ding-dong between them, now this one a-top now the other—the Genoese looked like having the best of it; but Venice had built up a constitution which, whatever its faults, made for stability—and that constitution won her through. The conspiracy of the Doge Marin Falier, that ended in his execution in 1355, proved the impotence of the Doge in conflict with his Council of Ten. Whilst Genoa was racked with the turbulent faction fights that were the fashion of Italy—the four noble houses of Doria, Fieschi, Spinola, and Grimaldi, under the guise of Guelf and Ghibelline, made her one of the most turbulent cities in all Italy—that was a hotbed of turbulence—and the citizens could only get snatches of repose by sacrificing their liberties now to this foreign ruler and now to another. The indecisive action at sea in 1352 between the Venetians under Pisani and the Genoese under Doria was followed by the great sea victory of the Venetians and their Spanish allies over the Genoese off Cagliari in 1353; then the Venetians in 1354 were surprised at sea and beaten by the Genoese under Doria off the coast of Morea, in the battle of Sapienza, which was followed by the conspiracy and death of the Venetian Doge Marin Falier—and peace was concluded.

Venice, at war with Lewis the Great of Hungary

from 1356 to 1358, losing Dalmatia thereby, and at constant quarrel with Francesco Carrara of Padua, had to leave Genoa severely alone for some twenty years; but the intrigue of Genoa in overthrowing John Palaeologus, the ally of Venice, and in setting up his son Andronicus Palaeologus in his place at Constantinople, set war aflame again between Venice and Genoa. Vettor Pisani, in 1378 defeating the Genoese fleet off Cape Antium, cleared the Adriatic of the pirates who had been plundering the argosies of Venice, but was in turn defeated the following year by the Genoese fleet under Doria at Pola, Doria falling in the battle. The Venetians flung Pisani into prison. The Genoese, under Pietro Doria, who had taken the slain Luciano Doria's place in command of the fleet, laid siege to Venice by sea, capturing the town of Chioggia, but instead of moving straight on to Venice, blockaded the city, relying on Francesco Carrara of Padua to cut off all supplies from the mainland. Venice looked lost, but her citizens rose to their heroic best. Pisani was taken from prison by his beloved sailors and given command, and messengers were sent to recall Zeno from the Levant with the second Venetian fleet. From Chioggia the Genoese, in turn blockaded and hemmed in by sunken ships from outlet to the sea, watched for the succouring Genoese fleet; from Venice Pisani watched for Zeno's sails. On the New Year's Day of 1380 sails were seen—the sails of Zeno's fleet; and on June 24th the whole Genoese fleet surrendered. The fall of Chioggia made Venice supreme at sea. Genoa never recovered from the blow.

But whilst Venice overthrew her rival, her wars with Genoa had been suicidal in eastern waters. The

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Ottoman power was nursed and strengthened, and the advance of the Turk became deadly dangerous for Venice. The Peace of Turin in 1381 confirmed her loss of Dalmatia and Treviso, and all other possessions on the mainland of Italy.

To baffle the growing power of Francesco Carrara at Padua hard by, she toyed with an alliance with the dangerous lord of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

The upstart family of the Visconti, on ousting the rival house of Della Torre from the lordship of Milan in the early thirteen-hundreds, had added dominion to the city. Their scheme of dominion increased with increase of possession. By 1347 their eastern boundary was separated from Venice only by four tyrannies of lesser power—the Gonzagas in Mantua, the house of Este in Ferrara, the della Scala in Verona and Vicenza, and the Carrara in Padua. In 1349 the lordship of Milan came to Giovanni Visconti, archbishop of that city; but his holy orders did not prevent him from bitter warfare on the Popes. When the soldier-archbishop died in 1354, the Genoese were under his heel, and he had added Bologna to his kingdom, thereby alarming Florence and all Tuscany for their independence. His death made his three nephews, Matteo, Bernabo, and Galeazzo Visconti, lords of Milan. Matteo, a vicious man and vile even for his day and family, was murdered at the order of his brothers in 1355; and Galeazzo and Bernabo Visconti divided the kingdom, ruling together, however, over Milan and Genoa. It was one of the most brilliant but foulest Courts even of the Renaissance in Italy. Ruling the people with brutal severity, they indulged in lavish display and in patronage of men of letters. Cruel

of heart, they insisted on State criminals being publicly tortured for forty days before execution. A peasant, for killing a hare, was flung to Bernabo Visconti's hounds to be devoured. Marrying into the greatest royal houses, the upstart breed of Visconti became linked with the greatest dynasties of Europe. They were of prodigious wealth. Galeazzo Visconti's son, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, married Isabella, daughter of John of France; his daughter Violante married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. of England.

In 1378 Galeazzo Visconti died, and his only son, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, came into possession of his father's share of Milan. Pretending to weakness, he lulled the enmity of his uncle Bernabo, decoyed him from Milan to a friendly interview at Pavia, and flung him into prison, from which he was never to come out alive. Of a personal timidity that made any sudden sound throw him into a state of terror, Gian Galeazzo Visconti proved himself a dogged and resolute man and a skilled master of intrigue. Of great wealth, he drew to his service the ablest *condottieri* of his age, and these great soldier-adventurers served him with a loyalty that is astounding.

His ambition was to form a great northern kingdom of Italy. He first turned his attention to the east of Lombardy. He played Francesco Carrara of Padua against Antonio della Scala, seized both Vicenza and Verona, even whilst he leagued with Carrara that Verona was to go to himself and Vicenza to Padua. The house of della Scala was ruined; but Milan kept Vicenza as well as Verona, and Carrara awoke to find that he had laid his own trap. Venice, on his sea-border, leaped to humiliate her old enemy Carrara, and agreed with Milan

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to share Carrara's territories; Padua fell to Milan, and Treviso and the Marches to Venice in 1388.

In 1389 Gian Galeazzo turned his eyes southwards towards Tuscany and Romagna; Perugia and Siena became ready allies against Florence; but Florence secured the great soldier-adventurer, the Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood. However, Hawkwood was compelled to vacate Lombardy, and the sky was black for Florence when the younger Francesco Carrara, escaping from the prison into which he with his father had been thrown after the fall of Padua, descended from Bavaria with a handful of men, crept up the bed of the Brenta river into Padua in the June of 1390; was welcomed by the citizens, and flung off the rule of Milan. The revolt struck at Gian Galeazzo's lines of communication; and he had to fall back from Tuscany, and conclude peace with Padua and Tuscany in 1392. But Gian Galeazzo set to work to close the toils round about Florence, when death took him on the 3rd of the September of 1402, in his fifty-fifth year, in the plague that swept the land—and the Kingdom of Northern Italy passed into dreams.

1400

Gian Galeazzo Visconti left two sons to succeed him, Gian Maria Visconti to Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti to Pavia; but the will of the dead man was dead; the *condottieri* seized cities and proceeded to carve out principalities for themselves. In Milan, the widowed Duchess, Caterina, behaved with such cruelty that she was herself seized and flung into prison, where she was poisoned; and Gian Maria Visconti, plunging into excess of cruelty

VENICE

and debauchery in a way that hinted of insanity, was taken in hand by one of his father's captains, Facino Cane, who had seized several of the western cities; and, on the death of Cane, the nobles of Milan, rather than let the lordship of Milan go to Gian Maria, assassinated the youth in 1412.

The moment that Milan had fallen into anarchy on the death of Gian Galeazzo, Venice, finding that Francesco Carrara had won back Padua, and had proceeded to seize Verona and was about to attack Vicenza, joined Milan in an alliance by which she was to have all territories east of the Adige for her reward. The result was victory for Venice; the year 1405 saw Francesco Carrara taken prisoner, to die in prison at Venice; and Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Bassano, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua became Venetian territory. She was soon sovereign also of Dalmatia again; by 1421, Friuli and the Dalmatian coast had passed to her from Hungary.

Meanwhile, on the murder of the insanely brutal Gian Maria Visconti at Milan, the younger brother Filippo Maria Visconti, stepping forth from his obscurity, took over the lordship and came near to proving himself as skilled a leader as his father, Gian Galeazzo, whom he surpassed in cowardice, and nearly equalled in intrigue. But he lacked his father's daring to seize what his skill placed within his reach—and it was as dangerous to lead his troops to victory as to suffer defeat—his suspicion was maniacal. His first act was to marry the widow of Facino Cane, some twenty years older than he—whereby he won back the western cities and Cane's veteran and well-drilled troops. Forthwith he cowed Milan, and avenged his brother's death with relentless hate. Then he rid him-

self of his elderly wife. In the attack upon Milan, he had picked out Francesco Carmagnola for his courage and capacity—raised him to the command, and conquered the cities his father had held, until he was lord of Lombardy from Piedmont to the Adige.

Venice awoke to the danger. Thenceforth, during the fourteen-hundreds, she was divided between two parties; Tommaso Mocenigo, the Doge from 1414 to 1423, was for the limitation of territory on the mainland to what she now held, and supremacy at sea so as to command the eastern trade, foreseeing that conflict with Milan meant handing over the East to the Turk; the younger nobles, under Francesco Foscari, were for fighting Milan as the only means of keeping Verona and Padua.

The embassy from Florence in 1423, to create an alliance against Milan, brought the two parties into conflict; the overtures of Florence were repulsed, but Mocenigo died the same year, and Foscari was elected Doge. The Florentine appeal was renewed as a threat that if Venice hung back, Florence would go over to Milan and make Visconti King of Italy. At this crisis arrived Carmagnola, who had been alienated by Filippo Maria Visconti's suspicions of him, and driven forth in disgrace. Carmagnola revealed Visconti's designs against Venice, and turned the scales in favour of the Foscari party. War was declared against Milan in 1425. At first success came to Venice; but Visconti was gathering about him the greatest *condottieri* of his day — Francesco Sforza, Niccolo Piccinino, and Carlo Malatesta. However, Carmagnola overthrew the Milanese in the great victory of Macalo on the 11th of the October of 1427; and Bergamo with Brescia became Venetian—the Venetian

frontiers being pushed westwards from the Adige to the Adda. Visconti, fretting at the threat to Milan, declared war again in 1431; and the Venetians grew suspicious of Carmagnola, who had taken scant interest in the last campaign, and had released prisoners without ransom, and was, as a matter of fact, disinclined to destroy a rich prince who might be of service to him. These suspicions the Venetians had kept to themselves until reverses set in in 1431, when the Council decided to make an example of Carmagnola. Carmagnola was invited to Venice, given a triumphal reception, hurried from the palace to the prison, secretly tried, condemned, and slain on May 5th 1432. Sforza played a double game, now serving Milan, now Venice — having decided on marrying Visconti's daughter Bianca as a stepping-stone to a principality in Lombardy. Venice seized Ravenna, beginning thereby her long struggle with the Papacy. Sforza married Bianca, and drew the hatred and suspicion of his father-in-law upon him; but Visconti had met his match in intrigue. Sforza drew Venice into war with Milan; and reduced Visconti to such a state that Sforza was about to desert Venice in order to seize upon Milan, when, on the 13th of August 1447, the news came that Filippo Maria was dead.

With the death of Filippo Maria Visconti the male line came to an end. The citizens promptly declared a republic. Venice, with great lack of statecraft, instead of supporting the republic, made the disastrous blunder of supporting the Foscari faction, and attacked the republic; whereupon the Duchy, instead of going to pieces in the wrangles of her several cities, threw itself at the mercy of Sforza, the greatest soldier of his age. He destroyed the

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Venetian fleet on the Po at Casalmaggiore and overwhelmed their army at Caravaggio. Sforza, promptly patching up a treaty with Venice, turned upon Milan, conquered the province, and in 1450 Milan opened her gates to him and acknowledged him as Duke. Then, and only then, the Venetians realised that they had set up for themselves over Milan the ablest soldier of his age in place of the cowardly Visconti. She straightway attacked Sforza; but, news of the fall of Constantinople to the Turk made peace in 1454 with Milan a necessity, and the frontiers of Venice were drawn back to the Adige. For twenty years her strength was centred on the Turk. Foscari's policy now showed a grey affair; he was attacked through his son Jacopo Foscari, who was condemned in 1445 and exiled. On being allowed to return to Venice two years afterwards, at the earnest entreaty of the aged Doge, one of the judges who had condemned him was murdered—in 1450—and Jacopo was denounced to the Ten; and though no evidence could be brought against him, and torture failed to bring confession, he was again condemned to exile. The innocent man made several attempts to escape, and foolishly began to correspond with Sforza and the Turks; he was brought to Venice, charged with treason, terribly tortured, and sent back to Candia, where he died in 1457. The Ten demanded the abdication of the old Doge, who died a few days later, listening to the bells that hailed his successor.

Foscari had hotly urged implacable warfare against the Turk; the Venetians, with deplorable lack of statecraft, concluded instead a treaty with Mahomet II. in the April of 1450, to pay tribute for trading concessions. But Venice, standing aside from aiding the Christian

peoples against the Turk, saw the Turk advancing, all-conquering, to her very gates, and took alarm. She joined Pope Pius II. in his call for a crusade, only to find that when, in 1464, the Pope went to Ancona to bless the armies of the Crusaders, she alone in Christendom had answered the call. Mahomet II. employed every Eastern wile to play off one state against the other, and kept Venice without allies. For sixteen years she fought the Turk with dogged and heroic courage, and alone. But by 1479, Venice, exhausted by her struggle, signed the Peace of Constantinople. Fortunately for the peace of mind of Venice, Mahomet II. died a couple of years afterwards, and was succeeded by a feeble sultan. Unfortunately, however, the wars had had a bad effect on Venice—the energies of her nobles, baffled in the East, now began to meddle in Italian politics, and pushed the State towards Italian aggression. Their grasping policy soon led to the League of Cambrai against Venice. Venice, afraid to attack Milan, now under Sforza, picked a quarrel with Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, and allied herself with the turbulent Pope Sixtus IV. against him. The other states became suspicious; and Naples, Milan, and Florence formed the League of Cambrai against the Pope and Venice. Sixtus IV., alarmed at the advance of Alfonso of Calabria from the south, promptly deserted Venice, compelling Venice to make the Peace of Bagnalo in 1484. About this time, however, Venice had a stroke of fortune in the East. The last king of Cyprus, James of Lusignan, had married a Venetian lady, Catarina Cornaro; but dying in 1473, his widow Catarina took Venetian protection; and in 1488, half compelled, she abdicated, and Venice became mistress of Cyprus,

Catarina keeping her title as Queen, and living in state at Asolo until 1508, when the outbreak of war saw her seeking refuge in Venice, where she died in 1510.

Venice realised that if she were to increase her Italian territory, she must destroy Sforza at Milan. The cutting of the tough knot came in 1493, when a number of nobles from Naples, driven into exile by the merciless rule of Ferrante and Alfonso in that kingdom, came to Venice to intrigue against the reigning house of Aragon. The Senate advised them to invite Charles VIII. of France to claim Naples for the House of Anjou, and, the advice being taken, the French invaded Italy. The Venetians acted with cold-blooded astuteness, for the Duke of Orleans, Louis, was a claimant to the lordship of Milan. After Charles VIII.'s first successes, Venice turned against the French, and in return the House of Aragon in Naples gave her Otranto, Brindisi, and other ports in Apulia; whilst the Duke of Orleans, on becoming Louis XII. of France, attacked Ludovico Sforza, ceding Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda to Venice for her alliance. The fall of Cæsar Borgia added a large slice of the Papal States to Venice.

But vengeance was at hand. A few years later, every state that had lost to her, combined in an attack upon Venice. However, the ruin of Venice was not due to the League of Cambrai, but to causes that were beyond her power to master. The trade with the East was destroyed by the Turks; and the peoples of the Atlantic were seeking a passage to the East round Africa. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape; and in 1498 Vasco da Gama continued the voyage to India. For three hundred and fifty years the Mediterranean ceased to

be a highway of sea commerce and became a mere lake. With the loss of her sea-borne commerce, Venice was ruined.

There had also arisen to the west a new power that was to take the command of the sea wholly from her. The union of Aragon and Castile, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, laid the foundations of a kingdom of Spain. Unfortunately, great ruler as she was, Isabella had a pedant's passion for religious uniformity and a fanatic's hatred of heresy. To her was largely due the introduction of the Inquisition—by the bull of Sixtus IV. in 1478, and set going in 1489 by Torquemada—that was to create a hell in Spain and Flanders. Its first act was to drive near a quarter of a million of Jews out of Spain; followed by the breaking of the pledge to allow the conquered Moors their return to Spain, which robbed the South of a harmless and industrious part of the people. But Spain and Portugal had taken to the sea. Portugal, from 1383 to 1433, had been exploring the West coast of Africa, that brought the land such wealth and fame. Thenceforth Africa yielded rich harvest to her hardy sailors. The Turks had shut off the highway to the Eastern markets. Portugal eagerly strained to find a way round Africa. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, as we have seen, rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Twelve years later, Vasco da Gama (in 1498) set foot in Calicut. Spain, debarred by treaty from trespassing on Portugal's West African route, supported a mariner of Genoa, one Christopher Columbus, in finding a way straight across the open seas, westwards, to Asia. In 1492 Columbus, in the first of his immortal voyages, landed in what he took to be India—and so stumbled upon a new world, and gave

to the islands of his discovery the name of the Western Indies: the supreme act of the fourteen-hundreds was achieved, and the great dramatic incident of the Renaissance in Europe. Everything had consorted thereto, the scientific spirit, the will to dare, the daring to dare; and a new world was the prize of the age. The sea-dogs took to the water. But Venice was fallen, and knew nothing of the splendour. The bull of Alexander VI. in 1493, with godlike gift, drew a line from pole to pole of the world, a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and gave all that lay to the west of it to Spain—all that lay east to Portugal. The which was to bring the Dutchmen and the Englishmen about the ears of Spain in the years to come. But that was not as yet.

OF THE VENICE INTO WHICH THE RENAISSANCE WAS BORN

CHAPTER II

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MAKING ITS WAY TO VENICE, FIRST STAYS ITS FEET AWHILE AT VERONA

VENICE

The art of the Renaissance in northern Italy centres round about the mighty achievement of Venice—vastly different in aim from the high achievement of Tuscany and Umbria in Central Italy. Nevertheless the Venetian art and all North Italian art had its beginnings in the Tuscan genius. It was Giotto, coming out of Tuscany, northwards, across the mountains, who sowed the seed of the northern art, which was to develop into so different a blossom and give forth a flowering so strangely apart.

The Byzantine, or Greek, style of painting lingered longer in Venice and the North than in Florence; indeed, Venice was near upon half an Eastern city, redolent of and in close touch with the spirit and habits of the Orient. This Byzantine art brought forth rich and handsome altarpieces, sumptuous with gold and elaborate ornament—barbaric in splendour. But, of a truth, as has been wittily said, these were more remarkable for the gorgeousness of their frames than for the high artistry of their paintings—and the frames were but Gothic architecture heavily gilt.

VERONA

'Tis true that in Lombardy and the North the Florentine Giotto (1276-1336) had, by his coming thither,

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created in the thirteen-hundreds a school of shadowy painters whose ghostly names come down in vague tradition to us.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MAKING ITS WAY TO VENICE, FIRST STAYS ITS FEET AWHILE AT VERONA

It was in Verona that something like an original sense of art began to manifest itself, as seen in such early painters as ALTICHIERO and AVANZI, who displayed a colour-sense and richness of design that they certainly did not learn from Tuscany. And from these primitives of Verona we shall see the northern painters getting that bias towards colour which nothing but native genius can explain.

But even Altichiero and Avanzi, though they revealed native colour-sense, owed their development to Giotto.

ALTICHIERO ALTICHIERI (born about 1330—dying 1395) developed his art under the influence of Giotto, and founded the school of Verona, where, in S. Anastasia Chapel, his frescoes may be seen—and at Padua.

Thus, as Giotto was the father of modern painting in Florence, so was he also the creator of the great school of painting in Venice.

Giotto, in his wide round of Italy, chanced to come to Padua, famed as the great Italian seat of learning ; and in the Arena Chapel thereat he wrought fresoes that "made School."

After Giotto arose a school of painters in fresco ; and to Padua from Verona came VERONESE ALTICHIERO and AVANZI, creating their art in Padua, and coming thereby to wide fame. Both these men of Verona nevertheless kept their personal colour-faculty ; but Giotto's frescoes in Padua revealed form and movement to them, and gave life to their artistry.

1400

VENICE

Then to the northern cities the coming of the fourteen-hundreds brought a second awakening, when GENTILE DA FABRIANO (1365-1410) came to Verona from Umbria and found a congenial spirit in the great painter and maker of medals of Verona whom we know as Pisanello.

Gentile di Niccolò di Giovanni Massi, better known as GENTILE DA FABRIANO, from his native town in Umbria, was born between 1360 and 1370. His first important work was the decoration of a chapel about 1419 for Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Brescia and Bergamo; soon thereafter he went to Venice, where, with Veronese Pisanello, he decorated the hall of the Ducal Palace with scenes from the life of Barbarossa; but as these all perished, the works are but a tradition. He became the master of Jacopo Bellini, and godfather to Bellini's eldest son Gentile Bellini, and thereby founder of the Venetian School of Painting. In 1422 he went to Florence and settled there, the *Adoration of the Kings* at Florence having been painted by him the year after he settled in Florence. He was the last of the mediævals; he loved gold; and when he can raise it in heavy embossings on his pictures he leaps to the gay business—he scatters it over gown and veil and robe—and he paints flowers and smiling faces everywhere. He was a son of joy.

PISANELLO

1397 – 1455

To the Giottesque fresco-painters of Verona of the thirteen-hundreds, then, with ALTICHIERO DA ZEVIO and JACOPO D'AVANZI at their head, came on the edge of

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1400 one Antonio Pisanello. The son of a citizen of Pisa and of a mother of Verona, Pisanello was born in 1397—his long-accepted name of Vittore being quite wrong. Growing up amidst the Veronese fresco-painters, his style was founded upon the methods of Altichiero and Avanzi, and the several artists and miniature painters who were busy in Verona in the early fourteen-hundreds. By twenty-four he was in Venice, for he was at work with the Umbrian, Gentile da Fabriano, upon the frescoes of the Grand Council Hall of the Ducal Palace of the city in the lagoons. Unfortunately, of these early frescoes no vestige remains, for they were repainted by the Venetian, Gentile Bellini, in 1474, fifty years later.

By twenty-seven Pisanello was back in Verona again, for, from 1424 to 1428 he was painting the fresco of the *Annunciation* in the Church of S. Fermo Maggiore in that city—a fresco which has nearly completely perished. He went to Rome in 1432, but was soon back at Verona, where he painted, in 1435, his thirty-eighth year, the large fresco of *St. George mounting for the Fight* on the outer arch of the Pellegrini Chapel in the Church of Sant' Anastasia, of which fresco also but a small portion has escaped destruction. It was in this same year that he painted one of the two pictures by him, now in London, the small panel of the *Vision of St. Eustace*, in which, against a wide landscape, the Saint, astride his gaily bedecked horse, is faced by a stag that bears between its antlers the vision of the crucified Christ. The panel has been credited to Dürer and to Jean Fouquet, but is at last legitimately fathered.

Pisanello was given to wandering, and afar; in his

forty-first year, 1438, he set out from Verona again, and for five years the streets of the city did not know him. The year 1439 saw him in Mantua; by 1442 he was in Venice. Returning to Verona early in 1443, he was soon to horse again, going to Ferrara in 1444 at the call of Leonello d'Este. Rimini and Pavia also knew him.

Bergamo possesses the portrait he wrought of *Leonello d'Este*, whose features are also immortalised by Pisanello on a medal, of which the cast may be seen in the frame of Pisanello's famous picture of *St. Anthony and St. George*, now in London. This panel of *St. Anthony and St. George*, a supreme example of Pisanello's art, bears the painter's fantastic signature. It also reveals the wide gulf that was to separate the whole sentiment and aim of Venetian art from the intense devotionalism of the Tuscan and Umbrian intention. St. George is clearly Pisanello's ideal of chivalry rather than a saint—over all is worldly pomp and splendour. His hand's skill lingers with jeweller's delight over the elaborately decorated and gilded armour of the knight and his horses. But of the severe piety of Tuscany or gentle piety of Umbria how little!

The Louvre owns Pisanello's *Ginevra d'Este*, though the painting is not yet given to its legitimate father.

The world at large thinks always of Pisanello as the great medallist of all Italy—as indeed he was the first and the greatest. But he himself laid claim to the honour of painter, as his signature on his medals ever proves. His influence on the art of the North was profound.

Pisanello numbered amongst his pupils Bono da Ferrara, Giovanni Oriolo, and Stefano da Zevio (1393?-1451). But there was about to come into northern

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Italy a mightier influence than Pisanello's, which was to reach out from Padua and engulf the school of Verona as well as the cities lying thereby. However, Bono da Ferrara signed his *St. Jerome in the Desert* as pupil to Pisanello, which indeed were scarce necessary considering its obvious inspiration. But we shall soon find Bono da Ferrara a fellow-student of Andrea Mantegna's in the great workshop of Squarcione at Padua. Of Oriolo, it is interesting to note that London possesses his portrait of *Leonello d'Este*, Pisanello's patron in Ferrara.

Still, Pisanello's art left its mark upon Verona, and bore fruit later through Liberale da Verona and others, as we shall see : dying out in Giolfino and amongst other minor artists. But we must forthwith ride alongside of the Renaissance to Padua ; for the Renaissance is a-move, and making for Venice by way of the old university city.

CHAPTER III

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MOVING ON TOWARDS VENICE OUT OF VERONA, LINGERS AWHILE AT PADUA BY THE WAY

SCHOOL OF PADUA

VENICE

Now, it so happened that Padua, dependent on Venice, had from near 1200 been the seat of a great university; and to this university came students from France and the valley of the Rhine. Padua was always closely in touch with France and the Rhine.

We have seen Florentine Giotto (1276-1336) wander to Padua and painting his frescoes there in the early thirteen-hundreds. Thereafter, some hundred years, came Florentine Donatello (1386-1466), bringing his superb gifts of sculpture wherewith to endow the ancient seat of learning with one of the most world-famous statues of the age, for at Padua he wrought and set up the equestrian figure of *Gattamelata*, one of the greatest masterpieces of all time.

Donatello was called to Padua in 1443. It happened to be the year in which the great condottiere Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata, died; and in 1446 the Republic of Venice ordered him the highest honour in its power, an equestrian statue in bronze, to be wrought by Donatello. That statue was the supreme act of Donatello's genius. Its effect was prodigious upon all Italian art.

PAINTING

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MOVING ON TOWARDS VENICE OUT OF VERONA, LINGERS AWHILE AT PADUA BY THE WAY

Now it also so happened that as the new art came to Padua from the western side of Italy, there came also from the east, from Greece, the new learning and the interest in the antique greatness of the Greek genius. There had been set up in Padua a studio for artists by one SQUARCIONE; and the whole atmosphere of that training-school in art was antique.

It followed that when Donatello's genius fired the art of Padua—the old university town, the centre of the classic thought and of the eager interest in that Humanism that the Greek ideal had brought to the ancient seat of learning—the artistic movement took on a marked classic tendency, and became steeped in the antique tradition. The whole atmosphere of the place favoured it; and it has been truly said that her art is marked by the classic feeling so strongly that in her masterpieces the human figure looks ever as if it had been painted from some antique reliefs rather than from the living nude; whilst even the draperies, the architecture, the very subjects chosen, reveal the reverence for the glory of antique days.

And it must be remembered that Padua was already the centre of a little school of artists, under Venetian influence—GIUSTO DI GIOVANNI or Justus of Padua, a Florentine who had there settled—GIOVANNI and ANTONIO DA PADOVA; and GUARIENTO, who had painted in the Ducal Palace at Venice.

FRANCESCO SQUARCIONE

1394 – 1474

The founder of art in the ancient and learned university town of Padua was FRANCESCO SQUARCIONE in the early

fourteen-hundreds. This Squarcione, trained as an embroiderer, a calling of importance, had travelled much in Greece and the East, bringing back with him many antique masterpieces of sculpture; and set up a sort of academy in Padua for the teaching of art, based on the ancient achievement. His own powers seem to have been modest enough, though the works of his hands are so rare that we can form but a limited judgment upon him. An altarpiece in the museum of the city is his chief remaining work. His significance lies rather in his passionate enthusiasm for the classic art of antiquity, in his teaching of the antique traditions, and in his creation of a school of young painters who came flocking to his studio from the northern cities of Italy—into whom he instilled the classic ideals of art, the academic worship of the antique models, and into whom he infused his passionate enthusiasm for all that Humanism, that study of man as man, which he had caught from his wide researches into the Greek spirit that was about to spread throughout the land from his studio.

Amongst Squarcione's pupils the most famed was to be MANTEGNA, who numbered amongst his fellow-students Vincenzo Foppa; Pisanello's pupil, Bono of Ferrara; and others of lesser light. At Squarcione's studio there were to be met some of the greatest painters and sculptors from Florence.

To Padua came Donatello for a decade, from 1443 to 1453. To Padua, Squarcione called Ucello and Filippo Lippi, who wrought their art side by side with Mantegna and Jacopo Bellini. So Squarcione set the art of the North ablaze.

It was from Squarcione that FOPPA (1427 ?-1502 ?)

learnt his art and brought to birth his gift of restrained rich colour that he took with him to Milan to found the school of that city ; and who late in life came under the influence of the Umbrian architect and painter Bramante, pupil of Melozzo da Forlì. But Foppa's school was to have brief life ; for Leonardo da Vinci came from Florence, and thereafter the art of Milan became but the art of Florence.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MOVING ON TOWARDS VENICE OUT OF VERONA, LINGERS AWHILE AT PADUA BY THE WAY

ANDREA MANTEGNA
1431 – 1506

Andrea di Ser Biagio, Squarcione's most illustrious pupil, better known as ANDREA MANTEGNA, was born at Padua (or, as some hold, at Vicenza) in 1431, and as a boy was adopted by the master ; he inevitably became profoundly impressed from his earliest thinking years by intimate association with the sculptures, both statues and reliefs, of antique days. Hence his art is founded on the classic ideals and forms. He created in Padua a style, founded on a blending of antique sculpture with Gothic ruggedness, that is marked by severity. His virile and forceful art is as far from that of Giotto as was Masaccio's in Florence ; and he stands towards the Venetian school in very much the same relation as did Masaccio to the Tuscan. His influence upon the whole art of Venice was to be prodigious. His style, placing his figures at the foot of his design, shows his sculpturesque design.

Padua holds the earliest important work by Andrea Mantegna, the series of frescoes at the Church of the Eremitani ; and the Brera at Milan possesses the great altarpiece in twelve designs painted in 1454. Five years afterwards he was in Verona, painting the altarpiece of

VENICE

San Zeno. Unfortunately three panels of the predella (or frieze along the base of this altarpiece) have been taken away from the base of the centre panel, though they are still to be seen, one of a *Calvary* at the Louvre, and the other two, an *Agony in the Garden* and a *Resurrection*, at the Museum at Tours. It was in this same year of 1459 that Mantegna painted the *Agony in the Garden* (now at the National Gallery in London) for the governor (podestà) of the city of Padua, one Giacomo Marcello, signed by Mantegna on the rocks at the centre—in the background of which is Mantegna's concept of Jerusalem, which he evidently founded on the buildings of the Tower of Nero at Rome, and in which he has set Donatello's famed equestrian statue of Gattamelata, at that time in all the glory of its recent achievement. The design owes much to Gentile da Fabriano's pupil, Jacopo Bellini, the Venetian, as does the art of Giovanni Bellini, as shown in the picture of the same subject at the National Gallery. Indeed, this *Agony in the Garden* by Mantegna shows him completely under the influence of Jacopo Bellini, who, with his two great sons Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, had been for some time settled in Padua ; and it is not surprising to discover that Mantegna was now on such intimate terms of friendship with that (Venetian) family, for he had married Nicolosia, daughter of Jacopo Bellini in 1454, five years earlier—as indeed we know from the severe displeasure that the marriage caused Squarcione, who forthwith found fault with his adopted son in that his pictures "resembled statues and were as though of stone"—a dry comment from Squarcione !

Of about the same year of 1459 was Mantegna's

I

MANTEGNA

"LA VIERGE DE LA VICTOIRE"

(Our Lady of Victory)

(Louvre)

This picture was painted in celebration of the victory by Giovanni Francesco III., the Marquis of Mantua, over King Charles VIII. of France on July 6, 1495. The Marquis is seen kneeling on the left of the picture and St Elizabeth on the right.



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portrait of *Cardinal Lodovico Mezzarota*, now to be seen at Berlin—that cardinal of the sumptuous habits who won the nickname of 'Cardinal Lucullus,' who had led the troops of the Papacy to the great victory of Metelino a couple of years before (1457).

It was also the year in which Mantegna, fretted by his master's enmity, moved his home to Mantua, to become court-painter to Lodovico Gonzaga—to Mantua, which was to be his abiding-place for the remainder of his years. Here he wrought on paper, fixed to canvas, some eighty feet in length, the series of nine paintings of the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar* for the ducal palace, which were sold nearly a couple of hundred years afterwards, by the Duke of Mantua of later days, to Charles I. of England in 1628, and now hang in Hampton Court Palace—amongst the greatest treasures of the Crown, though in the reign of William III. Laguerre did his best by wholesale restoration to destroy them. For the *Triumph of Cæsar* he was loaded with honours, lands, houses, and estates, and was knighted.

It should be realised that Mantegna's years of work in the north saw Benozzo Gozzoli (some eleven years older), Perugino (some fifteen years younger) working in Umbria, and Botticelli (some fifteen years younger) and Ghirlandaio (eighteen years younger) at the height of their fame in Florence, and Leonardo da Vinci (twenty-one years younger) at Milan, and the Pollaiuoli and Signorelli and Franceschi at their height.

In the decade 1484 to 1494, being from fifty-three to sixty-three, Mantegna wrought the superb wall-paintings of the Castello at Mantua. It was in 1490 that the Duke Giovanni Francesco III. married Isabella d'Este,

whose interesting personality shed so much lustre over the age.

Mantegna was now at the height of his powers; and his mature art created for Francesco Gonzaga in 1496 the fine *Madonna of Victory*, painted to glorify Gonzaga's vaunted victory at Fornovo of the year before—the picture which now hangs at the Louvre; whilst the National Gallery in London possesses the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with St. John the Baptist and the Magdalene*, painted the year thereafter. This *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, in London, displays Mantegna's strong classic sentiment; and it holds the added interest of bearing his signature, "Andreas Mantinia, C.P.F." (which so strongly points to his birthplace as having been Padua, "Civis Patavinus Fecit").

Of the same year were the two fine Louvre paintings by Mantegna—the stately and pure-hued *Parnassus* and the small *Triumph of Wisdom over the Vices*.

Mantegna was sixty-five, painting in superb style, and he was to create masterpieces to the end; but he was soon to know sorrow and troubles. He had spent large sums of money in gathering together a very fine collection of works of art, which had brought him into money difficulties; he increased his embarrassed state by founding a family chapel in the Church of Sant' Andrea in Mantua—he was compelled to sell his works of art to clear himself of his tangled state. Stricken with grief at the loss, he never recovered from the blow.

He was to die in 1506; but he painted in that year his pagan *Triumph of Scipio*, still to be seen in London, for Francesco Cornaro, in which Cybele is being received amongst the ancient gods of Rome.

II

ANDREA MANTEGNA

1431 – 1506

PADUAN SCHOOL

"PARNASSUS"

(Le Parnasse)

(Louvre)

On an arched rock stand Mars and Venus before a draped bed, with Cupid beside them; Vulcan stands before his forge; below, Apollo plays his lyre; the Muses dance. Mercury, wearing the *petasus* and *talaria* and carrying the *caduceus*, leans against Pegasus.

Painted in tempera on canvas. 5 ft. 3 in. × 6 ft. 3½ in. (1·60 × 1·92).



London also possesses another of his last works in the *Samson and Delilah*.

Death took him on the 13th of September 1506, in his seventy-fifth year, and he was buried in Mantua.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MOVING ON TOWARDS VENICE OUT OF VERONA, LINGERS AWHILE AT PADUA BY THE WAY

Mantegna's early training in the antique ideals of Squarcione, and his passionate admiration of the sculpture of Donatello gave his art a set direction to which his whole artistry was bent, when he came under the influence of the three Bellini, who brought him the Venetian bias towards colour. This strong blending of influences on his original and forthright personality created a curious type of painter to have been bred under the shadow of Venice. Yet, severe as his forms may be, and his vision, there is the spirit of Venice rather than the Central Italian vision in all he did. He arises out of the achievement of the art of the lands by the lagoons of the Adriatic, an imposing figure. His work is founded on the antique grip of the human form —is indeed almost as though he painted from statuary— but it is blended with a spiritual emotionalism of a somewhat severe austerity. His figures are arrayed in nobility and dignity ; and if, like his draperies, they hold a sculpturesque sense, they are painted by a man who felt the harmony of colour, and of rich colour ; and they are placed upon the painted surface with a fine balance of arrangement. There is small need to discover that he was a scholar, as befitted the old city of learning that bred him ; for his classic lore is writ large over all his art. But it is interesting to know that his hand's skill proves him to have been one of the very earliest artists

who engraved upon copper—nor was Rembrandt wholly ignorant of Mantegna's skill therein.

Mantegna's influence was prodigious on his age, and he exerted a wide influence upon the generation that followed him. There was scarce a master of the school of Verona hard by but owed tribute to him.

FRANCESCO MANTEGNA (The Younger)

Mantegna left a son, his second lad, Francesco, who had been his pupil and became his assistant, to carry on something of the flame that had burned in his genius. The National Gallery in London holds three panels of this son's artistry—*The Resurrection*, the *Holy Women at the Sepulchre*, and *Christ and Mary Magdalene in the Garden*.

Working in Padua beside the young Mantegna there had been the Venetian Jacopo Bellini, with his two sons Gentile and Giovanni, all influencing Mantegna and being in turn influenced. Then came Mantegna's marriage with Jacopo's daughter, the friction with Squarcione by consequence, and the eventual departure of the Bellinis for Venice and of Mantegna for Mantua.

We have seen that, amongst Mantegna's fellow-students in Squarcione's workshop were Vincenzo Foppa, Bono of Ferrara, one Gregorio Schiavone ('The Slavonian'), so called from his being a native of Dalmatia; Cosimo Tura; and Francesco del Cossa (who either was a pupil to Squarcione or to Cosimo Tura). These pupils and assistants spread abroad over the northern cities hard by and created schools called the School of Bologna, the School of Ferarra, and the like, depending on the city in which they exercised their art; but the titles are more

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE, MOVING ON TOWARDS VENICE OUT OF VERONA, LINGERS AWHILE AT PADUA BY THE WAY

remarkable for a pedantic desire to label groups of artists who really had a common origin, and whose artistry was largely founded on the same tradition, varied by the influence of the genius who happened to be dominating their age. They were all born out of the brain of Squarcione, tinged by the achievement of Mantegna, coloured more and more by the artistic vision of Venice as each new generation of them was born and wrought their various destinies.

GREGORIO SCHIAVONE

Worked in the middle fourteen-hundreds

Of these pupils of Squarcione, Gregorio Schiavone, was wont to add to his signature the words "Discipuli Squarcioni," clearly thereby showing his pride in his discipleship, as may be seen in his altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* at the National Gallery in London—which gallery also possesses a *Madonna and Infant Christ* by him. He must not be confused with the Venetian painter Andrea Meldolla, called Schiavone, who was to come to fame in the middle fifteen-hundreds —the friend of Tintoretto.

Before we follow the Bellini family to Venice, who created that vast school, it is well here to watch the development of Squarcione's teaching, carried to the cities round about Padua by his numerous pupils, their art set aflame by their brilliant fellow-pupil Mantegna, and not blind to the Venetian revelation of colour that the Bellini had brought to Padua, nor indifferent to the Veronese splendours that were being born.

CHAPTER IV

WHEREIN WE SEE THE DISCIPLES OF SQUARCIONE OF PADUA CARRY THE ART TO THE CITIES LYING THERE ABOUT

VENICE

WHILST Mantegna carried to Mantua the new-born art of the Renaissance, illumined by the new Humanism or new Paganism brought from antique Greece by Squarcione and finding fertile ground in the old university town of Padua, another pupil carried the flame to Ferrara ; and created the Ferrara School of Padua, or

THE SO-CALLED SCHOOL OF FERRARA

Of the several so-called schools created by Squarcione, or rather arising out of his antique-worshipping workshops, the school of Ferrara is marked by its rugged strength and avoidance of all prettiness. Of the so-called SCHOOL OF FERRARA, the founder was Squarcione's pupil Cosimo Tura.

COSIMO TURA

1420? – 1495

Born at Ferrara, Cosimo Tura, went to Padua as pupil of Squarcione, and having caught from that lover of the antique such ancient and academic delights as Squarcione had to give him, he returned to his native town, and spent the remainder of his life therein in the service of its Dukes of Este, becoming court-painter to Duke Borso, who had succeeded Leonello d'Este, the patron of Pisanello.

WHEREIN WE SEE THE DISCIPLES OF SQUARCIONE OF PADUA CARRY THE ART TO THE CITIES LYING THERE ABOUT

He brought to Ferrara the antique style—a firm, if somewhat hard sense of modelling, a hard and rather dry sense of colour, a strong sense of design and a capacity for rich decoration in the classic spirit, such as garlands, architectural tendencies in ornament, and the like. He at any rate was free from prettinesses. Tura's feeling for solidity of form he got from his Squarcione schooling, until he painted men and landscape as rocklike as Donatello's low-reliefs—even as Mantegna did to some extent. Tura, with his pupil Francesco Cossa as his assistant, painted the series of frescoes called *Triumphs* in the great hall of the Schifanoia Palace. Of Tura's other brilliant pupil Bianchi we shall see more.

FRANCESCO DEL COSSA
1430? – 1480

Some ten years or so younger than Cosimo Tura was another artist of Ferrara, one Francesco del Cossa, who was also either a pupil to Squarcione or, more probably, to Tura himself. Cossa's indebtedness to Tura is very marked, as may be seen in his frescoes at the Schifanoia Palace in his native city wrought with Tura. Cossa's design is simpler, less crowded and strained, and his art is more severe. About his fortieth year, 1471, he settled in Bologna; and as the remainder of his life was passed in that town and his chief works are there to be seen, he is sometimes classed as of the Bologna school—thus showing the unreality of all these minor classifications.

Cossa came under the influence of the scientific Piero dei Franceschi, during that master's short stay in Ferrara.

Of the lesser artists who hailed from Ferrara it is but

necessary to name Squarcione's pupil Bono da Ferrara, who with another Ferrarese, Giovanni Oriolo, later in their development became followers of Pisanello. Another native of Ferrara who learnt his art at Padua as pupil under Tura was Ercole de' Roberti Grandi.

ERCOLE DE' ROBERTI GRANDI

1430? – 1496

Ercole de' Roberti Grandi is said to have assisted his master in the painting of the Schifanoia frescoes in that city. Ercole Roberti, like his townsman and fellow-student Cossa, went to Bologna. His work proves him to have had a shrewd eye for character and a quick hand to record movement; and by consequence his artistry is marked by realism. Vasari, the historian of Italian art, caused much confusion by bemuddling the elder Ercole de' Roberti Grandi with his younger kinsman and pupil Ercole di Giulio Cesare Grandi (1465?-1531). To the younger man, Vasari made a free gift of all the elder's works; but the younger painter's art is marked by more grace and refinement than are the more vigorous works of his master. He, like Tura, was much in favour with the lordly house of Ferrara.

Michele Coltellino or Cortellino was the pupil, of Ercole Roberti, and became rather his imitator. Domenico Panetti (1460?-1512?) was probably pupil to Cosimo Tura, and a mediocre painter. Baldassare Estense, the illegitimate son of Niccolo III. of Este, was rather an amateur than professional painter, being a soldier of considerable repute. He was pupil to Cossa.

The decline from rugged strength which characterised the so-called School of Ferrara, but which may be said

to be the Paduan ideal in its earlier manifestation, into the feeling for grace and refinement that set in towards the end of the fourteen-hundreds with the younger Ercole, was also marked in the art of Lorenzo Costa.

WHEREIN WE SEE THE DISCIPLES OF SQUARCIONE OF PADUA CARRY THE ART TO THE CITIES LYING THERE ABOUT

LORENZO COSTA
1460 – 1535

Lorenzo Costa, the pupil of Cossa and Ercole Roberti, was like them a native of Ferrara ; he also, like Cossa and Ercole Roberti, went to Bologna, where he became the partner of Francia, and wrought his art from his twenty-third year (1483) until 1507, when the house of Bentivogli was expelled from that city. Two years thereafter we find him in Mantua, whither he had been called by the house of Gonzaga to be their court-painter on Mantegna's death ; and in Mantua he worked therefrom until his death in 1535. Of the questionable pedantry in separating these several cities in the neighbourhood of Venice as to their style and achievement in art, we could have no better proof than the fact that Lorenzo Costa became at Mantua the partner of Francia, the supreme genius of the so-called School of Bologna—whom we are about to discuss. Costa himself has yet to win his bays—he was a fine artist. Like his comrade Francia, he shows a strong Umbrian feeling in his art very akin to Perugino : graceful, elegant, and refined, he was also a brilliant landscape-painter ; with an exquisite sense of colour.

The simple fact was that the Paduan school was too near Venice not to be affected by the aim of sumptuous splendour of the genius of the City in the Waters ; and what severity and rugged strength was in Padua's original

classical intention was early overwhelmed in the sensuous splendour of her great neighbour. By consequence, the Paduan schools were early striving after a gracious and pleasant artistry that soon led to weakness in such as had not a full sense of what could be wrought by pure faculty of colour.

Working under the influence of Mantegna from 1467 to 1483, was Girolamo da Cremona.

Of The Pupils of Costa, and of the Ferrarese in the Decline of the Renaissance, the greatest colourist was Giovanni Lutero, known as Dosso Dossi.

DOSSO DOSSI

1479 – 1542

Giovanni di Lutero called Dosso Dossi was known to the last generation better than his master; he was indeed a most prolific worker. He developed under the glamour of Giorgione and Titian. But we have now reached a development in the art of the so-called School of Ferrara, otherwise of Padua, wherein the Paduan achievement is overwhelmed in the desire for grace, and the Renaissance is in complete decline, overshadowed by the great Venetians as much as though Dosso Dossi had been in Florence, overwhelmed by the shadow of Raphael.

Ariosto mentions Dosso Dossi as peer of Leonardo, Mantegna, and Giovanni Bellini. Giorgione, Titian, and Palma were later to reveal to him a larger acreage in the garden of art, so that he came to a glow and splendour of colour well nigh equal to theirs. Dosso was in the service of Alfonso I. of Ferrara when Titian visited the Court. His masterpiece is the great altarpiece, once in

WHEREIN WE SEE THE DISCIPLES OF SQUARCIONE OF PADUA CARRY THE ART TO THE CITIES LYING THERE ABOUT

the church of S. Andrea in Ferrara, now in the public gallery—a sumptuous design that is a glory of colour. Dosso was a remarkably fine portrait-painter, and several of his portraits of the Dukes of Ferrara are to be seen at Modena.

His pupils were Girolamo da Carpi and Battista Dossi, a landscape-painter who died about 1549.

Mazzolino (1478 ?-1528), pupil to Ercole Roberti, and influenced by Costa and Dossi, is said to have worked in the studios of Ercole Roberti, of Dossi and of Pannetti ; whether he were pupil to one or all of these is no great matter. Mazzolino at any rate was gifted with a rich and sumptuous colour-sense, even though he descended to employ gold to increase the high lights on the draperies. He usually painted small, and with a Flemish minuteness.

Benvenuto Tisi or Tisio, more famous as Garofalo (1481-1559), and Ortolano, and Garofalo's pupil Girolamo da Carpi (1501-1556) are the last painters of that school ; and with them the school of Ferrara is blotted out. Girolamo da Carpi was pupil and assistant to Dosso Dossi. Giambattista Benvenuti, was called L'Ortolano from his father's calling of gardener. Caligarino, a shoemaker, was a mediocre painter of the time. Garofalo ended as a mere Raphaelesque. He once had a wide vogue, especially for his small easel-pictures ; he was a good portrait-painter. He died blind in 1559.

CHAPTER V

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS FROM PADUA INTO BOLOGNA OUT OF FERRARA

THE SO-CALLED SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA

VENICE

We have seen that the so-called School of Ferrara was nothing else than the School of Padua practised in another city. So also with the so-called school of Bologna, which perhaps was rather the child of Padua's child Ferrara than of Padua alone—if there be much difference! The real school of Bologna means to most people the school of Bologna that later, in the years of the Decline, produced the Carracci.

There had been a few early painters in Bologna, such as Vitali and Lippo di Dalmasio (working from 1376-1410), who had considerable vogue in the making of devotional pictures, and his pupil, the nun Beata Caterina Vigri; but the first artist of consequence whose name is associated with the school of this city was Marco Zoppo.

MARCO ZOPPO

1440? – 1498

Marco Zoppo was a pupil of Cosimo Tura's, by whom his artistry was greatly affected. Marco Zoppo must not be confused with Foppa, the founder of the school of Milan. Like his master Tura, Zoppo's art is marked by Squarcione's dry, hard manner and handling,

though the faults are in him even exaggerated. He came later somewhat under the glamour of Giovanni Bellini.

The most brilliant genius given by Bologna to the art of the Renaissance, however, was Francesco Francia.

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS FROM PADUA INTO BOLOGNA OUT OF FERRARA

FRANCIA
1450–1517

Francesco di Marco di Giacomo Raibolini, or, as he is better known, Francesco Francia, born in Bologna some nineteen years after Mantegna first saw the light in Padua, covers by his working life very nearly the same years as those of that great Paduan.

Francia began his artistic career as a die-sinker and maker of medals, hence his appointment to the post of Master of the Mint at Bologna, and hence probably his signature to his paintings as "aurifex" or "aurifaber" ("goldsmith" or "goldworker").

We have already seen that Marco Zoppo, Francesco Cossa, and later Lorenzo Costa emigrated from Ferrara to Bologna. Cossa's coming to Bologna in 1470 happened in Francia's twentieth year, and the young goldsmith, on the edge of manhood, was fired thereby to essay the painter's art; Lorenzo Costa's coming thirteen years later, in 1483, revealed to the young man, already trained in draughtsmanship, a fuller achievement in painting, he became his pupil and partner, and at thirty-five he set himself his first serious problem in the art. But his colour shows from the first, as does his sentiment, that some other inspiration had come to him outside of Ferrara; and it is known that Perugino had stayed awhile at Bologna—whatever the cause, a marked Umbrian feel-

ing is in his work; and it is an interesting fact that Francia, who received a flash of the flame of the Umbrian genius, should have handed on the flame through his pupil, Timoteo Viti, to the greatest of the Umbrians, Raphael, and with it the warm glow of the Venetian love of colour.

To Bologna one must go to see the larger part of Francia's achievement in such masterpieces as the *altar-piece at the Chapel of the Bentivoglio family* in the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, painted in 1499, on the edge of his fiftieth year. His fiftieth year (1500) saw him at work on the Calcina altarpiece, now at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, but originally painted for Canon Lodovico de Calcina to be placed in the church of San Petronio at Bologna. But his works are scattered throughout most of the great galleries—one of the most beautiful being the *Madonna of the Rose Trellis* at Munich.

The famous *Buonvisi altarpiece*, now in London, perhaps the most perfect work in all his achievement, was painted in 1510, some three years after the Bentivogli, his patrons, had been expelled from Bologna. Though now mostly on canvas, it was originally painted on panels. Its subject, *The Virgin with the Infant Christ and St. Anne Enthroned, surrounded by Saints*, was expressly designed for Benedetto Bonvisi, who made his will and founded a chapel dedicated to St. Anne, the mother of the Madonna, in the church of San Frediano at Lucca for the repose of the souls of the Bonvisi family. The three saints, St. Lawrence with his gridiron, St. Benedict, and St. Paul with his sword, are the patron saints of Bonvisi's father Lorenzo, of himself Benedetto, and of his brother, Paolo —the St. Sebastian being one of the saints invoked to

III

FRANCESCO FRANCIA

1450 – 1517

SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA

"THE VIRGIN AND TWO ANGELS WEEPING OVER THE DEAD BODY OF CHRIST"

(National Gallery)

Painted on wood, a lunette, or segment-shaped picture. 3 ft. 2 in. h. × 6 ft. w. (0·964 × 1·828).



WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE FLITS FROM PADUA INTO BOLOGNA OUT OF FERRARA

protect Lucca from the plague which scourged the city that year. Francia's characteristic signature may be seen in gold letters on the throne at the Madonna's feet—"FRANCIA · AURIFEX · BONONIĒSIS · P."

The upper part of the altarpiece, a lunette, of the dead Christ lying on the knees of the Virgin, with an attendant angel at each side, is on its original panel. Here we have one of the noblest Pietàs in all the Italian achievement, painted with rare restraint, and all the more pathetic for that restraint. The dead Christ has a dignity and solemn beauty akin to the mighty achievement of Michelangelo in the famed marble at Rome. And the whole is a masterpiece of resonant colour-harmonies wrought as into music, rhythmic, sonorous, profoundly solemn.

The National Gallery was fortunate indeed in purchasing this noble example.

Francia's name is generally associated with his deeply felt and intensely pathetic religious pictures, yet his *Portrait of Bartolommeo Bianchini* proves him a powerful portrait painter.

In all his art Francia reveals his goldsmith's training —he lingers fondly over the details of church vestments and jewellery, and is in his element in modelling the suave lines of a musical instrument. The scientific criticism that has of late done so much to win back the credit of painters to the works they wrought, and the honour of which had been filched from them by the careless habits of the past, has called attention to Francia's avoidance of painting the ear, an odd evasion, when one considers his fine draughtsmanship and subtle gift in the modelling of the human face ; and his convention of

painting the hands as though they had no knuckles has often been noticed. From Lorenzo Costa he caught a slovenly trick of painting draperies that trail in vague folds along the ground ; but he got from Costa an uglier habit of making his draperies conceal, instead of reveal, the human form under them, and the still more weakening trick of making his figures lack solidity and grip upon the surface on which they stand. But he won to a richness of colour of which Costa never held the secret.

Francia died in his native Bologna, the scene of his life's work, on the 5th of the January of 1517, in his sixty-seventh year.

Francia's name is often to be found upon the inferior works of his son GIACOMO FRANCIA.

Francia wielded a wide influence, as indeed his sincere art was bound to do, when we realise that there were at one time as many as a couple of hundred pupils working under him. Of these pupils TIMOTEO VITI and MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI were to become the most famous.

TIMOTEO VITI (1467-1523), who served his five years of apprenticeship to Costa and Francia from 1490 to 1495, was an Umbrian, whose known pictures are very rare, but he was destined to a strange influence, for, returning to his native Urbino skilled in his master's artistry, he was to receive into his studio thereat a young fellow as pupil who was to be known to world-wide fame as Raphael.

CHAPTER VI

WHEREIN WE RETURN AWHILE TO VERONA, WHILST THE RENAISSANCE SPEEDS ON TO VENICE

WHEREIN WE RETURN AWHILE TO VERONA, WHILST THE RENAISSANCE SPEEDS ON TO VENICE

We have already discovered that Pisanello's influence over the artistry of Verona was very great; but the art of Mantegna in Padua overwhelmed all other influences in its neighbourhood after the middle fourteen-hundreds. However, Pisanello's tradition remains, and may be seen in the work of Liberale da Verona (1451-1536) and later painters of Verona. Liberale, beginning his artistic career as a miniaturist and illuminator in the Benedictine Monastery of Mont' Oliveto, came back to Verona in 1477 to fall completely under the empire of Mantegna and the Bellini as did all the Veronese and Paduan art of the time. London possesses a charming panel, the *Death of Dido* by Liberale. He ended in his old age by being caught by Raphael's grace.

Liberale's most brilliant pupil, Francesco Caroto, was strongly impressed by Mantegna and Bonsignori, falling, like his master, in his later days, under the glamour of Raphael.

Another pupil of Liberale da Verona was Francesco Torbido, called Il Moro, working in Verona, born about 1486, dying after 1546, who came under the glamour of Georgione and Titian, and fell away under Giulio Romano. Of Liberale's lesser pupils was Niccolo Giolfino (1476-1555).

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Side by side with the decorative art of Liberale and his followers there had grown up in Verona a more vigorous and stern art in the studio of DOMENICHINO MORONE (1442—after 1503), called *Pellacane* from his father's calling of tanner, who founded his art on the vision of Mantegna. But Domenico Morone, though he founded his art on the strong qualities of Mantegna's sense of form, also came under the glamour of Gentile Bellini, and kept at the same time his Veronese love of pageantry and splendour and rich apparel, that had been so typical of the city and its art from Altichiero; and were to be so typical of her art in her supreme genius Paolo Veronese in the years to come. Domenico Morone's reputation as a teacher was very great; not only did he gather a large number of pupils about him, but they were so imbued with Domenico Morone's teaching that they resisted the overwhelming influence of Venice which was about to overtake all northern art. The brilliant colourist FRANCESCO CAROTO was born of the union of this Morone influence with the Liberale training; and the result was the vigorous style of Caroto, which is almost Venetian, rich in the colour sense, and with a right feeling for form.

Of Domenico Morone's pupils and followers, the most brilliant was his son, FRANCESCO MORONE (1473-1529)—Morone the younger—who, like his father before him, founded his art on the practice of Mantegna and the Bellini. His chief works, marked by dignity and remarkable for their careful finish of handling, are in his native Verona.

Another pupil of Domenico Morone's was GIROLAMO

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DAI LIBRI (1474-1556), "of the books," from his illustrating of the same, to whom his fellow-student Francesco Morone's *Madonna and Child* in London used to be wrongly attributed—he was, as his name shows, an illuminator of books and a miniaturist. PAOLO MORANDO, called *Il Cavazzola* (1486-1522) and MICHELE DA VERONA (14 ?-1525) were also pupils of Domenico Morone; and it is interesting to see how thorough was Domenico Morone's influence upon them, in that they resisted the Venetian manner and style, and carried on Morone's tradition, who had handed on the flame from Mantegna and Donatello. Paolo Morando (Il Cavazzola) was a most remarkable artist, who died all too early—but even in his short life preparing the way for Paolo Veronese—he is seen at his best in his five subjects from the *Passion* at Verona.

But the Venetian flood now swept over the northern achievement, and its influence caught up Verona and the other cities near by. In Parma the great genius of Correggio was to be born. In Verona, PAOLO CAGLIARI was to become immortal as PAOLO VERONESE, but we think of him as one of the mightiest of the Venetians always, as indeed he wholly was. So also was his fellow-pupil BATTISTA ZELOTTI (1532 ?-1592) wholly Venetian in his art—indeed his work is confused with that of his greater fellow, as at the National Gallery in London where the well-known *St. Helena* by Zelotti is given to his greater townsman's credit. But we have pushed far beyond the fourteen-hundreds, for even Paolo Veronese's master, Caroto's pupil, ANTONIO BADILE (1517-1560) and Giolfino's pupil, PAOLO FARINATI (1522-1606), who helped to shape Zelotti, are of the fifteen-hundreds, and were well in the Venetian conquest. But of one man of

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Verona it is well here to take account, for he reversed the fashion of being first subject to Mantegna and then going over to Venice.

FRANCESCO BONSIGNORI

1455 – 1519

Bonsignori, miscalled by Vasari, Monsignori, and also known as Francesco da Verona, though a native of Verona, and living his earlier artistic life in Venice—his fine *Portrait of a Venetian Senator* in London is one of the best signed pictures of this period—came later under the influence of Mantegna, and became largely an imitator of Mantegna's style. Thus, beginning as pupil to Bartolommeo Vivarini and Alvise Vivarini, he came under the revelation of Giovanni Bellini, and ended by becoming in art a Paduan.

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CHAPTER VII

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE STEPS INTO THE CITY IN THE WATERS

WHEREIN THE RENAISSANCE STEPS INTO THE CITY IN THE WATERS

The vista of the achievement of the great colourists of the Italian Renaissance—the Venetians—now lies before us.

Venice, odd to say, though she was the mart of the world, was the latest of the cities of Italy to rid herself of the Byzantine vision ; but, beginning late, she was also the last to fall into the Decline. Her achievement was truer painting than that of the rest of Renaissance Italy, for she felt and thought in terms of colour.

The Venetian art sprang from two early schools that worked side by side in the fourteen-hundreds—its origin was in the two families of primitives, the Vivarini and the Bellini. Rival schools they were : the Vivarini concerned with the church tradition that painted works to fit the many-panelled altarpieces in tune with the architectural design of their setting ; the Bellini ridding painting from servitude to any other art, and creating the Renaissance spirit in painting's self-concern.

It is true that there were working in Venice before these, from about 1370 to 1450, before the Renaissance came into Venice, the artists Niccolo Semitecolo, Lorenzo Veneziano, Antonio Veneziano, Jacobello del Fiore, and Michele Giambono. But Venice clung to the Byzantine tradition long after it had departed out of the rest of Italy—indeed she was closely in touch with

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the gorgeous spirit of the East, and shook off the Eastern atmosphere with difficulty ; and had it not been that she found in sumptuous colour a substitute for the stiff gorgeousness of the East, she might never have rid herself of Byzantinism. The Venice Academy has an altarpiece by Antonio Veneziano (born 1312), one of the earliest of Venetian painters — he shows Florentine training ; an *Annunciation* by Lorenzo Veneziano ; a *Coronation of the Virgin* by Semitecolo ; and a *Coronation of the Virgin* by Jacobello del Fiore.

The two branches of Venetian painting of the Renaissance arose out of two earlier schools ; the one in the island of Murano, where the Byzantine style had become infected with Sienese influences, bred towards the middle fourteen-hundreds the Vivarini family ; the other, under the influence of Squarcione in Padua, brought forth Jacopo Bellini and his two brilliant sons, Gentile Bellini and Giovanni Bellini—Jacopo, it is true, was the pupil of the Umbrian Gentile da Fabriano, but he wrought his art in the Paduan atmosphere ; and Padua was the real foster-mother of Venetian art. Mantegna's influence on both the Bellini and the rival school of Murano, the Vivarini, was profound. He created the true Venetian art.

THE VIVARINI OF MURANO

On the Venetian island of Murano, the seat of the glass factories, where were made the mosaics that created the fame of Venice in this craft, lived the family of the Vivarini. The two most eminent of the elder generation were Giovanni and Antonio ; but as they are also called Giovanni da Murano and Antonio da Murano, they are liable to confusion, which is added to,

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when we remember that Giovanni, proud of his German origin, called himself Giovanni d'Alemagna.

Venetian painting, on its late emergence from Byzantinism, came under the inspiration of Padua, Squarcione affecting the development of the painters of Murano, especially Bartolommeo Vivarini with his severe, dry, sculpturesque point of view. There is, by consequence, a very different atmosphere in the art of the brothers Vivarini of Murano from that of the Venetian achievement that was about to burst into blossoming under the Bellini.

Of Giovanni, Antonio, and Bartolommeo Vivarini not much is known. Giovanni d'Alemagna inherited his art from the school of Cologne; whilst Antonio Vivarini (14 ?-1470 ?) was assistant to John the German (Giovanni d'Alemagna). It will be seen that the Venetians were influenced from across the Alps—and it was with his master that Antonio decorated with much gold the several altarpieces that he wrought upon. But German as was his training, Antonio had seen the frescoes of Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano in the Doge's Palace. Antonio, by the mid-century, as the date 1450 on an altarpiece at Bologna proves, was working with his brother Bartolommeo. He is said to have died about 1470.

Antonio's younger brother, Bartolommeo Vivarini (died after 1499), whose first work was the Bologna altarpiece of 1450, was pupil to his kinsmen Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna; but probably also went to Squarcione in Padua, to judge by his firmness of drawing and his marked use of sharp shadows, the soft, clear colouring of the elder brother being absent from his art. His works are very rare. His last known work is signed

1499. His fine *St. Barbara*, at the Venice Academy, shows him at his best; the handsome saint, holding the model of a tower in her left hand, has his typical arched eyebrows, heavy chin, and full neck, and exaggerated height.

ALVISE OR LUIGI VIVARINI

Born after 1444, probably 1450; working from 1461 to 1503

Creating his art in Venice within the same years as Mantegna in Padua, the greatest of the Vivarini was one Alvise Vivarini, about whom as little is known as about his elder kinsfolk. Pupil to his uncle Bartolommeo Vivarini, he was the contemporary of Giovanni, the greatest of the Bellini, and a serious rival to him. But, until his very last years, he remained wholly unmoved by the new movement headed by Bellini, which was to come to such superb achievement under Giorgione and Titian. But in his later years he discarded the primitive stiffnesses of his Murano training, and in his *Sta. Giustina* at Milan he rid his design of all hardness and stiffness, achieving freedom from all awkwardness, and reaching to rare qualities of artistry. Indeed the *Madonna and Saints* in the Venice Academy, painted earlier, shows him leaving the Muranese tradition behind him. He seems to have come much under the influence of his contemporary, Antonello da Messina, as his portraits prove; indeed, so much so, that for long it was difficult to give the right painter his due—until Mr. Berenson's astounding researches in scientific attribution as regards the Italian Schools discovered Alvise Vivarini's trick of thumb in painting the raised upper eyelid and

IV

CARLO CRIVELLI

1430? – 1493?

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"THE ANNUNCIATION"

(National Gallery)

The Archangel kneels and announces to the Virgin that she shall be the Mother of the Christ, his right hand upraised, in his left he holds the lily, emblem of purity. Beside the Archangel is St Emidius, patron saint of Ascoli, holding a model of the city in his hand. A ray of golden light descends from the sky to the Virgin in prayer by her bedside. The three coats-of-arms on the front of the step in the foreground are those of the Bishop of Ascoli, Pope Innocent VIII., and the City of Ascoli. The Latin inscription signifying "Independence under the Protection of the Church," refers to the Charter granted to the city of Ascoli by the Pope.

Painted in tempera on wood. 6 ft. 10½ in. × 4 ft. 10½ in. w. (2·094 × 1·485).


LIBERTAS
ECCLESIASTICA

the droop of the right corner of his models' mouths. And he caught from his master the habit of making his bodies too long for his heads.

Side by side with Alvise Vivarini, and pupil to the elder Vivarini, was a painter destined to reach to exquisite achievement, and to become known to fame as Crivelli.

CARLO CRIVELLI

Born about 1430, died after 1493

Born of Venetian folk in Venice, as his signature bears witness, Crivelli's art is so individual that it requires an effort to realise how much he owes to the example of Bartolommeo Vivarini. Thorough Venetian as he was, he spent his whole artistic life at work upon his art amongst the cities of the Marches—the which perhaps accounts for his keeping his style markedly his own, and astoundingly free from the passing vogues.

Moving to Ascoli in the Marches of Ancona in 1468, Crivelli wrought in that year the large altarpiece at Massa Fermana, his earliest known dated work. The National Gallery in London is not only rich in works by da Messina and Carlo Crivelli, but it possesses Crivelli's supreme masterpiece, one of its greatest treasures, the glorious *Annunciation*, painted, as testified by its signature and date, in 1486, for the Convent of the Annunciation at Ascoli, where it stood until as late as 1790. Its gorgeous colour and astounding detail are characteristic of Crivelli's exquisite artistry. The Benson Collection in London contains an exquisite *Madonna and Child.* The artist was knighted in 1490, and "Miles" thenceforth appears after his signature, his best diary, which he fortunately kept well, for little is known of his life.

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It is supposed that Crivelli died in 1493 or shortly thereafter, as the last known date on any picture by him is on the altarpiece of the *Madonna in Ecstasy* in London ; and all more precise details of his end seem to resist research.

Crivelli is pure Venetian, trained one would guess at Padua, but untouched by the new movements that were stirring the artistry of his age—a primitive to the end, and an exquisite one. There is something very Japanesque in the naïve treatment of his fragile, ethereal Madonnas, with their almost Eastern smile, and slim, slender frames arrayed in brilliantly decorated draperies.

Working only in tempera on panel—his contemporaries Mantegna and Perugino also only employed tempera—and with a passion for minute ornament, it is astounding how consummately his genius prevented his elaborate draperies from swamping his figures, and his multitudinous detail from overwhelming the perfection of his idea.

SCHOOL OF ALVISE VIVARINI

From the studios of Alvise Vivarini and his great rival Giovanni Bellini, came the great groups of painters who are the glory of Venice. But before we follow the careers of the painters of the fifteen-hundreds in Venice, we must turn to the rival school of the Bellini, and touch upon a small group of brilliant men who were painting in Venice at the same time as the Vivarini and the Bellini.

CHAPTER VIII

WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF BELLINI

WHICH IS CONCERNED WITH THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF BELLINI

The glory of Venetian painting was created in its beginning by the family of the Bellini. For though Venetian painting on its emergence from Byzantinism came under the inspiration of Padua, and Squarcione affected the painters of Murano, more especially Bartolommeo Vivarini, with his severe, dry observation, the Venetians were early to turn away from that inspiration, and were to develop into a great school of colourists through the Bellini.

Nor indeed is it cause for wonder that the Venetians should have rejected a severe sculpturesque art, when we consider the rich, warm atmosphere in which they lived, the beautiful city in the waters which was their home, and their sumptuous habits. Spending their day in the fairy romance of the lagoons, their eyes ever upon scenes wherein a city rose out of the shimmering waters, with canals for streets in which the beauty of their city's buildings were mirrored in repeated reflection, and where every colour waxed and waned and scintillated under every play of light and shadow—living their whole lives amidst rich harmonies of buildings, at the feet of which picturesque shipping raised its thousand masts and sails, wealthy by commerce with the wide world, her wharves and quays the mart of the Mediterranean, sending her vast argosies to the far East, her streets and squares peopled by

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picturesque peoples from every clime, prosperous, pleasure-loving, fond of their ease, luxurious, with an almost childlike love of gorgeous pageantry and splended fêtes, their senses were bound to be impressed by the colour and glamour of life. So they came to think in colour, and to feel in colour ; and the hand's skill of the master-painters of Venice to utter itself in colour.

Venice knew better governance, more liberty, and independence of citizenship than all Italy. The constant broils of civil war, that vexed every hamlet and town of Renaissance Italy elsewhere, were unknown to Venice. Religion had to stay its hand of persecution and its brutalities in the streets of Venice. From the twelve-hundreds, she forbade the Inquisition in her territories, and kept as her own right of magistracy the punishing of heretics and outlawry, denying authority to the monks sent by Rome. Her people bedecked themselves in fine clothes and strutted it in sumptuous palaces and picturesque streets. And gay and blithe as she was of spirit and soul, so by consequence she was bound to be in her art which interpreted that soul. So you shall find her paintings to be gay and luminous, and filled with the joy of life. Her very religious pictures were but an excuse for magnificent processions, pageants, assemblies. From the end of the fourteen-hundreds, the Venetian saints and Madonnas know no asceticism. She invented *Holy Conversations* wherein the saints forgather for the mere sake of forgathering—she created the secular parties where musicians make song for disrobed or disrobing ladies in gorgeous landscapes. By the time that 1500 struck, the Madonnas and Saints had forgotten to frown or be severe, but blossomed into beautiful young

women and handsome youths, arrayed in splendid apparel.

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Venice was glad to be alive. Yet bright skies and brilliant surroundings often fail to create gorgeous art. Grey skies have often covered the greatest colourists. But Venice was virile, healthy, free. And her sons drew her superb colour across the canvas, and wrought their colour with her manifold luminosities as though her skies and the glint of her reflecting waters were captured and set thereon.

THE BELLINI

The first master of the name of Bellini, the founder and creator therefore of the great Venetian colourists, was JACOPO BELLINI, born about 1400, and dying in 1470. Jacopo Bellini was pupil to the Umbrian Gentile da Fabriano and to the Veronese Pisanello ; but was besides powerfully impressed by the genius of Donatello and by the aims of the school of Padua created by Squarcione, with which he was closely in touch, and beside which he wrought much of his art. Gentile da Fabriano, however, was his master, and to him he became assistant as soon as his apprenticeship was done—he travelled about with him —and even got a dose of prison for belabouring some of his master's enemies. We have seen him settle in Padua with his two famous sons, and greatly influence the young Mantegna, who married his daughter. Jacopo Bellini in turn was deeply affected by the Paduan aim of the union of classic ideals with the Gothic.

Unfortunately, but few of Jacopo Bellini's works are known. He was reputed by the old writers for his " many portraits of Venetians," and for his portraits of " Petrarca

and of Madonna Laura."—His *Madonna* of the Uffizi and his Tadini *Madonna* at Lovere, his *Madonna* in the Venice Academy; his *Christ on the Cross* at Verona, and the *Annunciation* at San Alessandro in Brescia, however, have come down to us to prove his value and the right judgment of his age. Jacopo Bellini uttered his sincere art in rich harmonies that clearly foretell the coming achievement of Venice, and point her art towards its great realm.

Fortunately two sketch-books of Jacopo Bellini still remain, to guide the student of the history of Italian art —the British Museum possesses the earlier one, Paris the later.

Beginning his career as artist under the shadow of the great Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice, Jacopo Bellini assisted his masters, Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, in their work within the Ducal Palace.

The new paganism that had spread over Italy cast its glamour over Jacopo Bellini, and thus his work was done for the great secular bodies of the Republic more than for the churches.

Between the spirit of the Renaissance in Venice and in Florence was a vast gulf. The deep significance of the Florentine re-awakening to the new paganism scarce touched Venice. Her people were pleasure-loving, blithe of heart. Jacopo Bellini had travelled to Florence and come in contact with the new learning; but he took the complaint in genial Venetian fashion.

Jacopo Bellini it was who rid Venetian art of Byzantine conventions by his virile artistry. He went from Venice to Florence in 1423 to work with Gentile da Fabriano his master. On his return to Venice he married,

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or is presumed to have married. At least two sons and a daughter were born to him: two sons destined to even greater fame than himself; the elder, Gentile Bellini (1426-1507), and the younger, Giovanni Bellini, born about 1428 or 1430. Both saw the light in Venice. A daughter also was born to Jacopo. Whether the gossip be true of the illegitimacy of his children or not, Jacopo lived in an age that treated illegitimate offspring as legitimate.

His sons were born to Jacopo in Venice at a splendid era of her history—though, little foreseeing it, she was on the eve of her downward career. All was splendour and wealth and magnificence. Shaken though she was by costly wars with Milan and Florence, and the vast folly of her sea-fights with Genoa, she had added a round dozen of provinces to her sovereignty.

The new trade route to India was not yet discovered; nor had Columbus and Diaz yet taken the sea-borne traffic of the world from Venice to Spain that brought ruin crashing over Venice. She still spoiled the East; and her wharves were rich with merchandise. She could well spend her wealth upon her artists. And her artists, unconcerned with architecture, concentrated their whole genius on painting. Her people were given to pleasure, and any man could enjoy a picture where few could read a book.

We have Vasari's gossip for it that Jacopo Bellini painted on canvas, not on wood, because canvas does not split, is free of the worm, and easily moved and cut to any size. He forgot to add that sea-air was disastrous to the frescoed wall.

Towards the mid-fourteen-hundreds, Jacopo moved

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from Venice to Padua, taking his grown-up family with him, shortly after Donatello had come to Padua to make his ten years' stay thereat from 1443 to 1453. Probably when the family arrived, Donatello's great equestrian statue of Gattamelata had been set up three or four years and was the talk of the town. Father and both sons would take a deep interest in it and Donatello's other sculptures in bronze. Soon after their arrival, Squarcione's adopted son Mantegna married Jacopo Bellini's daughter Niccolosia, in 1453—the which led to a breach between Squarcione and the Bellinis, and a serious quarrel between Squarcione and Mantegna.

About 1460 the three Bellinis returned to Venice; and here the aims and styles of the two brothers, trained by their father, and grown up together, rapidly developed along far different ways.

Jacopo Bellini lived a prosperous, successful life, his art in demand with the secular guilds, looked at somewhat askance by the Church. He died respected, leaving an honourable repute behind him.

CHAPTER IX

WHEREIN GENTILE BELLINI BEGINS THE GLORY OF THE PAGEANT

GENTILE BELLINI
1426? – 1507
AND THE VENETIAN PAINTERS OF PAGEANTRY

WHEREIN GENTILE BELLINI BEGINS THE GLORY OF THE PAGEANT

Born about 1426, Gentile Bellini, with his brother Giovanni, then, had been the pupil of his father at Padua. On the return of the family to Venice, Gentile Bellini was engaged in 1474 in restoring the frescoes for the Grand Council Hall in the Ducal Palace, painted by Gentile de Fabriano. On the completion of this work of restoration he was given the further decoration of the Grand Council Hall with a series of paintings. He began them, but left them unfinished in 1479, in order to make a journey to Constantinople, as the Sultan, Mahomet II., conqueror of that great city, had requested Venice to send a good painter to his court, as he wished his portrait painted. The visit brought Gentile Bellini considerable wealth and honour, and he was made a knight.

Gentile Bellini is said to have brought his visit to a close in somewhat dramatic circumstance—the Sultan objecting to John the Baptist's head, in a Salome picture, being still bleeding, said he would convince Gentile of his mistake, and, straightway ordering a slave into their presence, had the unfortunate man's head cut off. Gentile seems to have kept his nerve, but found that he must return to Venice, which he did.

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Gentile Bellini, bringing back with him from the rifled tomb of the great Doge Dandolo his sword and armour, returned to Venice, where he joined his brother Giovanni, who was at work upon the series of paintings for the Grand Council Hall, which he himself had begun and left unfinished, and which had been given to Giovanni ; and together the two brothers finished them. Most disastrously for art, these paintings were destroyed by fire in 1577.

Thenceforth, however, the art of the two brothers took different paths. Gentile gave himself up to those processional and ceremonial paintings, such as the *Preaching of St. Mark*, now at the Brera, and *The Miracles of the True Cross*, at the Venice Academy, in which the subject is made but an excuse for superb pageantry, played with Venice for the background. Gentile's influence powerfully affected his great pupil Carpaccio and the other "Painters of Pageantry" of Venice. In Gentile Bellini the Venetian pageant had its beginnings.

THE SO-CALLED VENETIAN PAINTERS OF PAGEANTRY

LAZZARO BASTIANI OR SEBASTIANI

About 1425 – 1512

Of Bastiani's birth nothing is known, and as little of his early years. His birth is sometimes given as being as late as 1450. He was one of the few Venetians painting at that time who had no direct or indirect training under the Paduan vogue, though said to have been born in Padua ; and he kept, in his earlier work, outside its influence. But his Byzantine trend, which was strong

upon him, was early mitigated by the example of Jacopo Bellini and of his sons, and thus, though he may have had no direct training under a Paduan master, he certainly, through the Bellini, was not innocent of Mantegna's achievement. But whether he influenced Gentile Bellini, or Gentile Bellini influenced him, it is quite clear that Gentile, soon after his return from Constantinople about 1480, developed his paintings of pageantry along a direction quite different from his former art. Judging by the large work put within his reach by the Procurators of St. Mark's and the Doges of Venice and other powerful patrons, Bastiani held a very high reputation in his day; and in 1508 he shared with Carpaccio the high honour of being chosen to judge the paintings of Giorgione on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

WHEREIN GENTILE BELLINI BEGINS THE GLORY OF THE PAGEANT

Bastiani's masterpiece is accounted to be his *Santa Veneranda*, now at the Vienna Academy; and to the same, his best period, from 1470 to 1480, is given his *St. Anthony of Padua with St. Bonaventura and St. Luke* at the Venice Academy. To this time also belongs the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo in Adoration*, now in London, painted as a votive offering for the ending of the plague which scourged Venice in 1478.

Bastiani had a tendency to make his figures too long for their small heads, which trick grew upon him in later life.

CARPACCIO

1460 – 1522

Of noble birth and long descent was blithe Carpaccio. Beginning in a somewhat dry style, he early emerged as

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the exquisite painter known to fame. Whether Carpaccio were the pupil of Gentile Bellini, or of Bastiani, or of both, he is the art-child of Gentile Bellini. VITTORE CARPACCIO is the supreme painter of the Venetian fêtes and pageantry. Finding his inspiration in the art of Gentile Bellini's paintings of pageantry, he did for Venice what Benozzo Gozzoli did for Florence. The famed decorator of the *Scuole* or Confraternity buildings, he has handed down an immortal record of the life and habits and customs and dress of his times in his seven pictures of the superb series of the life of "the holy Queen" *St. Ursula*—and the like.

Carpaccio wins into our intimacy at once like a child. It has been said of him that he is one of the most lovable of the Italians; and he is nothing less. His was a great and original genius. His *Legend of St. Ursula* in the Venice Academy is a cycle of pictured illustrations that recreates his age. He is the story-teller of Venice. He is amused with life in a thoughtful way; his dreams are full of suggestion, humorous and pensive.

St. Ursula, the daughter of a king of Brittany, was a devout maiden who had refused many suitors, being determined to consecrate herself to the Church. When the English king asked her hand in marriage for his son Conon, her father begged her to accept, the which Ursula did on three conditions—that the English king should give her eleven thousand noble maidens as attendants, that for three years they should go with her upon a pilgrimage to Rome, and that Prince Conon and all his suite should become Christian. Conon seems to have been in love with the modest girl, for he accepted the trifling conditions. He set out at once to visit her

V

CARPACCIO

"THE DREAM OF ST URSULA

(Academy, Venice)

This is one of the famous series of panels in the Venice Academy of scenes in the life of St Ursula. It represents the dream of St Ursula, in which an angel foretold her approaching martyrdom, which actually took place at Cologne at the hands of the Huns.



WHEREIN GENTILE BELLINI BEGINS THE GLORY OF THE PAGEANT

before starting upon her pilgrimage. At Rome Ursula told Conon that she had dreamed that she and all her maidens were to be martyred at Cologne, whither they were to travel on their way home. The prince, profoundly moved by the certainty that death was to prevent their marriage, became a Christian with all his following. At Cologne the princess's dream was fulfilled—she and her following were surrounded by the Huns, then besieging the city, and all were put to death, Conon dying at the feet of his beloved.

In painting his series of the legend, Carpaccio reached to his supreme achievement—they are *The English King asking the Hand of Mauro's Daughter* and the *Conference between King Mauro and Ursula*; the *King Mauro Bidding Farewell to the Ambassadors*; the *Ambassadors' Return with the Reply to King Mauro*; the *Farewell of the English King with his Son*, and the *Conon Meeting Ursula*, the two schemes being carried out on either side of a flagstaff; the *Meeting of the Pope and Ursula*; the far-famed *Ursula's Dream*, bearing Carpaccio's name and the date 1495, and, alas! the conceited guilt of "Cortinus R (restauravit) 1752," which betrays the unashamed smirk of the "restorer"; then comes the *Ursula Arriving at Cologne* in the fleet; followed by the *Martyrdom and Funeral of Ursula*, completed by *St. Ursula in Glory*.

At the Venice Academy is the altarpiece of *The Presentation*, better known to the world for its child with a lute, who sits at the Madonna's feet.

BARTOLOMMEO VENEZIANO

Working from 1505 – 1555

Another pupil of Gentile Bellini was the portrait-

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painter BARTOLOMMEO VENETO or BARTOLOMMEO VENEZIANO, but he passed later under the influence of the painters of Milan and of Bergamo.

BENEDETTO DIANA
About 1450 – about 1525

Benedetto Diana is best known as an assistant to Carpaccio and to Mansueti whilst working in S. Giovanni Evangelista, and as being a fellow-worker with Bastiani, by his chocolate colouring in his tempera, and a coarse style of handling and of design

GIOVANNI MANSUETI

GIOVANNI MANSUETI, Bastiani's pupil, was made of very different stuff. His known dated and signed works, ranging from 1490 to 1500, reveal a man who could never have reached to distinction, even though he tried to perfect his art by becoming the follower of his fellow-worker Carpaccio and of Gentile Bellini. Born about 1450 he worked with Bastiani at the decorations of the Scuola of the Brotherhood of S. Giovanni Evangelista, wherein he proves his poor draughtsmanship in short and awkward figures, his lack of action, and his dry, hard colour. He much affected oriental costumes. In one of his pictures at the Academy of Venice, he claims in his signature to be a pupil of Giovanni Bellini. His masterpiece, in which he makes an effort to approach Carpaccio, is his *People of Alexandria Listening to St. Mark Preaching* at the Venice Academy, which also contains one of his best works, the *Healing of the Daughter of Benvenuto.*

CHAPTER X

WHEREIN GIANBELLINI SCHOOLS THE MAKERS OF THE SPLENDOUR OF VENICE

WHEREIN GIAN-BELLINI SCHOOLS THE MAKERS OF THE SPLEN-DOUR OF VENICE

Jacopo Bellini had been somewhat of a pagan. A few years after Fra Angelico had been received into the convent of the Dominicans at Fiesole, Jacopo's second son, Giovanni Bellini—the great Bellini—a boy scarce fourteen, heard St. Bernardino preach in Padua his doctrine of a godliness not wholly innocent of Jew-baiting, which caught the people; and the lad was deeply impressed; his whole life long he devoted his art to the Church. He was a hard worker all his years. And how completely he lived apart from the pulsing history of his day, rapt in religious fervour, is seen when we search for the slightest hint in all his achievement of the vast clouds that gathered for Venice, whether in the fall of Constantinople in 1454 or the League of Cambrai. Of the new paganism that spread through Italy, not a trace. We shall find Bellini's great pupils in the next century mixing saints and pagan gods with true Renaissance impartiality. The night-watchers on the towers of St. Mark's might peer at the distant glow of burning cities, Christendom might reel before the Moors, but all the while Giovanni painted serenely his as serene altarpieces.

GIOVANNI BELLINI

1428 to 1430 – 1516

Giovanni Bellini, or, as he is also called, Gian

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Bellini, or in the writings of his day, Gianbellini, the younger son, pupil to his father, and trained in the tradition of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, came at the edge of manhood with his father and brother to Padua, inevitably came at the same time under the revelation of Donatello and of Mantegna, who married his sister. A foster child of Padua, Giovanni was to be the real creator of the fulness of Venetian art. His art went through so many stages of development that, as has been neatly said, he was a school of painting in himself. His earliest works, dry in handling and delicate in detail, are compact of Mantegna—though he displays a hardness and eccentricity of draughtsmanship therein all his own. One of his early pieces is his *Blood of the Redeemer* at the National Gallery in London, wherein the Risen Christ embraces with his left arm the Cross crowned with the Crown of Thorns. It is interesting to compare the undue length of the body and the quaint painting of the thumb on the hand of this work with his famous painting of the *Doge* near by, wrought close on fifty years later, at the height of his power. And in the same gallery it is well to note his *Christ's Agony in the Garden* and compare it and the masterpiece of the same name by Mantegna with the drawing for the same subject by Jacopo Bellini in his sketch-book, which clearly inspired both men. In both we have the Paduan sculpturesque tradition of Squarcione whether in figures or rocks, but the warm rich colour of Jacopo's Venetian vision holds both landscapes—and the dramatic fitness of the landscape to the mood of the incident has the Venetian rightness, so different from the Florentine tradition. Giovanni Bellini painted this *Agony* at Padua in 1459, the year before he, with his kin,

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GIOVANNI BELLINI

1428? – 1516

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"CHRIST'S AGONY IN THE GARDEN"

(National Gallery)

The three disciples are asleep in the foreground. An angel appears above, holding the chalice, the emblem of the Passion. In the distance, Judas is seen approaching with a crowd of soldiers.

Painted on wood. 2 ft. 8 in. × 4 ft. 2 in. (0·812 × 1·269).



WHEREIN GIAN-BELLINI SCHOOLS THE MAKERS OF THE SPLEN-DOUR OF VENICE

returned to Venice. At Venice Giovanni took up the paintings of the Grand Council Hall which his brother Gentile hurriedly left in order to go to Constantinople, and was at work upon them when Gentile returned from the East and completed them with him—unfortunately these great works perished by fire.

Thenceforth the two brothers developed their art upon very different lines. Giovanni's powers rapidly increased, and he revealed a splendour of colour and a virile force that thrust him forward to superb achievement. And, in the doing, he inspired his pupils towards that supreme accomplishment which is the glory of Venice.

Giovanni Bellini lived long, and his laborious industry, serving a vigorous will, created in his maturity a series of masterpieces remarkable for their range of artistry. He fills the whole field of development in Venetian art from Mantegna to Titian. The sole limitation that seems to have baulked his hand's skill was the capacity to paint movement. He did not attempt it.

A man of noble and dignified character, Giovanni Bellini gave his art to religious painting. The example of his great kinsman, Mantegna, rarely led him towards the classic myth or pagan subjects.

London possesses one of his early Madonnas in the *Madonna of the Pomegranate*—that pomegranate, symbol of the suffering of humanity and of good works, that so often appears in the art of the Renaissance. This painting is signed in full, with the second L of the Bellinus larger than the rest of his name—the sign manual of the authenticity of a picture by his own hand,—in contrast with his initials, which were placed upon works done to his design by pupils. Here we have Giovanni's hand-

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some, pensive Madonna, so typical of his great art and of Venice. Giovanni Bellini was one of the first artists to set landscape backgrounds beyond his Madonnas.

The *Frari Madonna*, painted in 1488 and therefore in his maturity, toward the end of the fourteen-hundreds, is a more ambitious scheme ; the altarpiece is in three parts in the beautiful old church of Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari at Venice. The work reveals Bellini's increase of dignity and of that pathos and religious fervour that mark his art.

There is a gossip story told of Gian that the young fellow, anxious to discover the secret of oil-painting, disguised himself as a Venetian nobleman, and going to the studio of Antonello da Messina, sat for his portrait, carefully watching the painter's methods the while, and discovering his secrets and mysteries. 'Tis a pretty story of the limits of a man's religiosity ; but whether a gossip tale or not, the fact remains that at first Bellini painted in tempera alone, but the use of oils rapidly came into vogue in Venice, and Bellini early employed oil and perfected it. He is said to have noticed how Da Messina from time to time dipped his brush in linseed oil, thus achieving a softness and union of colour which tempera could not give, and "having learned the manner of mixing colours with oils, so employed them himself," and taught his pupils to employ them.

Whilst Giovanni Bellini devoted himself to religious subjects he also is famed as the painter of four great portraits of Venetian Doges. Unfortunately but one is known to us, but in it we have one of the supreme portraits of the age in the superb *Doge Leonardo Loredano in his State Robes*, now in London, painted in 1503 or

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GIOVANNI BELLINI

1428? – 1516

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"PORTRAIT OF THE DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO IN HIS STATE ROBES"

(National Gallery)

Painted on wood. Signed on a cartellino. 2 ft. . × 1 ft. 5½ in. w. (0·609 × 0·443).



1504. A vital and searching picture of a man's personality, it is wrought with rare beauty of craftsmanship—a great presentment of the noble man who was Doge of Venice from the October of 1501 until his death in 1521, whilst Julius II. and Leo X., Michelangelo's troublesome patrons, were Popes of Rome. If you look closely at this *Doge* you will find on the white card so typical of Bellini, his employment of the large second L in the signature on his masterpieces: "IOANNES BELLINUS."

Of the later Madonnas painted by Giovanni Bellini is the widely known *Madonna of the Two Trees* at the Venice Academy, in which Bellini is seen in all the richness of his full achievement, in spite of its heavy restorations. The great *Altarpiece in S. Zaccaria* at Venice and the *St. Paul Preaching in Alexandria*, now at the Brera in Milan, are of his last years, as also is the superb *Allegory of the Tree of Life* at the Uffizi, in which gallery is the portrait long held to be his self-portrait, but which is now challenged.

The Venice Academy contains Bellini's famous altarpiece of the *Madonna of San Giobbe*, painted about 1488, from which the child playing a lute, at the Mary's feet, is so often taken, as is the child with the lute from Carpaccio's *Presentation* in the same gallery.

Towards the end of his life Giovanni Bellini's workshop became a very factory for the making of pictures. The number of his pupils was very large. And they poured out pictures to which Giovanni's sole contribution was his initials.

Of Giovanni Bellini's pupils BISSOLO, RONDINELLI, MARCONI and CATENA and others, painted many of the works of Giovanni's workshop to his design, which were

touched up and initialled by him. That Duke of Ferrara was an astute fellow who made Bellini take his unfinished picture to Ferrara and complete it under his eyes before he paid his eighty-five ducats for it. It set a bad example amongst Bellini's pupils; and Titian became a vile offender against his patrons in the same way; indeed it is astounding that great artists should have held their own reputations so low. Of a truth Titian became an even worse offender, and all one's sympathy is with that Frederic, Duke of Mantua, whose letter asks Titian to send forth works that have his touch as well as his signature.

Giovanni was near on seventy when the famed Isabella d'Este, Duchess of Mantua, commissioned a secular picture from him, paying him on account, only to be irritated at last, by his many evasions, into taking the strong step of trying to get the Doge—he whose portrait hangs in London to-day—to commit the old artist for fraud. But a *Nativity* and a humble letter of apology won back the fair Isabella's smile.

In 1506 Albert Dürer was in Venice, and pays high tribute to Bellini's genius. Giovanni's last years were vexed by the eagerness of his pupil Titian to take his place in the painting of the Great Hall of the Council, on which the aged painter was working very slowly.

On the 24th day of the November of 1516, Giovanni Bellini died, close upon his ninetieth year. With him passed away the last serious religious painter of Venice.

GIOVANNI BELLINI'S PUPILS

Of the splendour that was nursed to gorgeous flowering in Venice of the fifteen-hundreds, in the workshop of

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WHEREIN GIAN-BELLINI SCHOOLS THE MAKERS OF THE SPEN-DOUR OF VENICE

Giovanni Bellini, the supreme blossoming was in the great triumvirate: Giorgione, Titian, and Palma Vecchio. But there were, besides, a swarm of lesser men apprenticed to Bellini, of whom perhaps the most important were Bissolo, Catena, and Previtali.

No studio in the whole history of painting produced so many great masters as the busy workshop of Giovanni Bellini. Most of the men who make the vast achievement of Venice in the fifteen-hundreds learnt the craft and mysteries of their art under his tuition; and the history of their careers is the chief object of this volume. Giorgione came to that studio a mere boy of eleven; Titian also entered it as a mere boy; Palma Vecchio also. Of the men who sat at his feet also were Previtali, Catena and Cariani. The greater ones we are about to consider. Of the lesser men, Bissolo and Rondinelli and their like, who were largely mere imitators, employed by Giovanni Bellini chiefly to turn out his initialled works, we need only say a few words, and here.

PIER FRANCESCO BISSOLO

1464 – 1508

Pier Francesco Bissolo, born at Treviso, went to Venice to the workshop of Gianbellini, and came to acute mimicry of his master, with a somewhat hard texture and high colour, the flesh dry. He afterwards came under Giorgione's influence and that of Palma, uniting bits out of his three masters into a design of his own. Bissolo had a command of delicate, tender colour employed in mellow fashion, that brought distinction even to his hesitant and feeble forms, and in some measure atones for his expressionless and vapid faces. The Academy at

Venice holds his best and very scarce works, the *Christ Crowning St. Catherine of Siena*, and the *Madonna with Saints James and Job.*

MARCONI

Rocco Marconi, another native of Treviso, pupil to Bellini and to Palma Vecchio, painting with a beautiful translucent colour, was capable of noble expression and fine feeling, even though he crowded his figures and employed weak types. His *Descent from the Cross* at the Venice Academy is his masterpiece.

CATENA

Working in 1495–died in 1531

Vincenzo di Biagio, better known as Catena (work ing in 1495, died 1531) had a firmer grip of forms and more breadth of style than his fellow-student Bissolo; and in his later years developed his style under the influence of Carpaccio and his great fellow-student Giorgione, to whom indeed Catena's *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ* in London was long credited, and to whom Catena's *Adoration of the Magi* in the same collection is still given; whilst his *St. Jerome*, in the same gallery, was long credited to his master Giovanni Bellini. Catena was the author of *The Circumcision*, now in London, signed by Giovanni Bellini.

PREVITALI

1480? – 1528

Andrea Previtali (1480?-1528) of Bergamo was vowed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be one and the same being as Andrea Cordelle Agii or Cordegliaghi, which you will. Morelli fiercely assailed this oneness. But the

scientific experts trend to the double life of Crowe and Cavalcaselle. So the war rages. There are many facts on Morelli's side. Different works are signed by the different names; and judged by these, their styles were far enough apart, except that both men were wretched enough draughtsmen. Previtali is chiefly to be seen at Bergamo —the National Gallery in London possessing a *Madonna and Child with Donor* by him. Cordelle Agii is to be seen in the same gallery with his *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* bearing the date 1504. The old writers tell of Previtali's skill being so close to his master's style that many of his portraits pass for the work of Bellini; and they tell of Titian's delight in Previtali's *Annunciation* at Ceneda, "being charmed with its devout spirit."

MARZIALE

Marco Marziale may have been pupil to Bellini. But his scarce works are wholly unlike Venetian Art, and are closer akin to the art of Albert Dürer, who was in Venice in 1505, and is said to have been earlier in that city also, between 1490 and 1494.

Before we pass on to the vast achievement of the great pupils of Alvise Vivarini and of Giovanni Bellini, who were to make the fifteen-hundreds the splendid garden of the Arts in Venice, it is well to look upon the genius of a man who came out of Sicily, having learnt the mysteries of painting in oils in the Netherlands, and thereby revealed to the Venetians the means whereby their art was to utter its full song—he was known as Da Messina—"from Messina."

CHAPTER XI

WHEREIN A GENIUS COMES TO VENICE OUT OF SICILY AND BRINGS THE SECRET OF THE MYSTERIES OF PAINTING IN OILS OUT OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

THE VENETIANS

Besides the two great rival schools of the fourteen-hundreds in Venice—the Vivarini and the Bellini, there was to come from the extreme South of Italy into the early Venetian achievement a third personality, who was to make a profound impression upon its art, Antonello da Messina.

ANTONELLO DA MESSINA

1444 – 1493

Born in Sicily, Antonello da Messina went to Flanders to study his craftsmanship ; and is there said to have learnt the mysteries of painting in oils from a follower of Van Eyck—presumed to have been Petrus Christus. It may be that the use of oils was no secret to Venice, however, owing to her sea-communication with Flanders ; but in any case it is well to bear in mind that in these early days in Italy, oils were only employed to put the finishing lustre on the paint below, which was wrought with colours mixed with white of egg—what is called " tempera."

Be that as it may, Antonello da Messina was the first Italian painter of rank to employ oil glazes on panels painted in tempera. That Vasari's tale of this artist

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ANTONELLO DA MESSINA

1430 – 1479

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"PORTRAIT OF A CONDOTTIERE"

(Portrait d'homme dit le Condottiere)

(Louvre)

Painted in oil on panel. Signed: "1474, *Antonellus Messaneus me pinxit.*"
1 ft. 1 in. × 11 in. (0·33 × 0·28).



worming the secret of oils out of Jan Van Eyck is mere gossip is clear from the fact that Van Eyck was dead three years before the Sicilian was born. It is well to remember that Roger van der Weyden had been as far as Rome in 1450; and may have made the Italians inquisitive about the methods of the Low Countries.

WHEREIN A GENIUS COMES TO VENICE OUT OF SICILY AND BRINGS THE SECRET OF THE MYSTERIES OF PAINTING IN OILS OUT OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

Certainly the study of the Dutchmen created Da Messina's art, for the exquisitely painted *St. Jerome in his Study* at the National Gallery in London is as detailed, and "Dutch" as a panel by Jan Van Eyck. And to what extent Antonello merely glazed his tempera, or painted wholly in oils it is difficult to decide. The old writers who tell of Giovanni Bellini going in disguise to his studio to discover the oil method, speak of Bellini noticing that Da Messina "from time to time dipped his brush in linseed oil," and thus getting "a certain softness and of union colour which could not be got in tempera." His earliest dated work, 1475, is in London—the *Salvator Mundi* or *Christ as the Saviour*.

In 1473 he went to Venice to paint a picture for the Church of S. Cassiano. His portrait of himself, *A Young Man*, is at the National Gallery, painted about 1474. The very fine *Condottiere* portrait at the Louvre is of 1475, as is the small *Crucifixion* at Antwerp. The portrait of a *Young Man* at Berlin, painted in 1478 shows that five years after his arrival in Venice the red flesh tints of his earlier style have given way to the study of Bellini and Vivarini; whilst his portraits in turn, on the other hand, strongly influenced Bellini—as the Venetian reveals in his great portrait of the *Doge*.

Da Messina, whose art is remarkably akin to that

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of the Dutch and German genius, is said to have been honoured at his death, at forty-nine, with the epitaph set up over his grave by his fellow-artists in Venice, giving him the credit of bringing oil-painting into Italy.

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

1500

CHAPTER XII

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL

THE SCHOOL OF ALVISE VIVARINI

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL.

We now see that by 1500 the Venetian art was in full career, created by the Vivarini and the Bellini.

To separate the pupils of these great originating schools is no easy matter, since, though Alvise Vivarini's pupils and followers were as many as those of Giovanni Bellini, the influence of Bellini overwhelmed that of Vivarini early in the fifteen-hundreds, and swept Alvise Vivarini's pupils and followers into the Bellini current—to such an extent that, until lately, largely owing to Giovanni Bellini's vile habit of initialling his pupils' works, a vast part of their work was set down to his hand. That Bellini's wide vogue should result in his workshops turning out pictures painted by his pupils and signed by the master, inevitably caused vast confusion; until modern scientific research set itself to tracing the signature of an artist in his craftsmanship instead of in the names attached to his works.

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

1460 – 1517?

Born in the same year as Carpaccio, Cima da Conegliano, or Giovanni Battista Cima, was one

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

of the most gifted of the pupils of Alvise Vivarini—one also of the pupils who afterwards came under the glamour of Giovanni Bellini. Born at Conegliano in Friuli, his early life was lived amidst the Alps, and the fascination of the blue mountains never left him—they make the distances of his background landscapes. Perhaps the mountains also account for the coolness of his harmonies, since he had as fine a sense of colour as of draughtsmanship. Cima's work is marked by careful finish. Though his utterance lack fervour, he came to dignity. The influence of Giovanni Bellini on his later works is unmistakable, and is seen in his masterpiece at the Venice Academy, the great *Madonna with Six Saints*, two musicians at her feet. Cima painted gracious Madonnas, still serious but aware of their beauty; and their rounded forms are in marked contrast to the more angular severity of the Madonnas of Florence.

BOCCACCIO BOCCACCINO

1467? – 1525

Another pupil of Alvise Vivarini was Boccaccio Boccaccino, a true poet of the so-called Cremona School, who also became influenced by the great Venetians of his day, and owed some tribute to Foppa and Bramantino. The Academy at Venice possesses his masterpiece, the *Marriage of St. Catherine.*

MARCO BASAITI

1470? – 1527

A pupil of Alvise Vivarini of less distinction and lesser gifts than his fellow-student Cima, was Marco Basaiti, who, though assistant as well as pupil to Alvise, also later

in his career owned the mastery of Giovanni Bellini. Basaiti reveals his signature by the scanty vegetation and leafless trees in his landscape backgrounds, and the beauty of their handling. He had a rare sense of proportion in the relation of his figures to that background and to the composition as a whole. His masterpieces are the *Assumption* in S. Pietro Martire at Murano, the *Dead Christ* at the Venice Academy, the *Calling of the Sons of Zebedee* at Vienna, and the superb *St. Sebastian* at the Salute in Venice, which is his supreme work. Basaiti seems to have been one of those who painted some of the pictures signed by Giovanni Bellini, so that he probably became a pupil of Bellini after leaving Vivarini's workshop; his art caught the severe outline of Vivarini, softened by Bellini's less rugged modelling.

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL

JACOPO DI BARBARI
1450? – 1516?

Jacopo di Barbari, whose *St. Sebastian* is at the Pitti, and who painted the frescoes in the chapel by the choir at the Frari in Venice, was also a pupil of Alvise Vivarini, and later became influenced by Antonello da Messina.

BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA
1450? – 1523

Another pupil to Alvise Vivarini who went over to Gentile Bellini, and was to some extent moved by the art of Giovanni Bellini, was Bartolommeo Montagna, the Brescian, a painter who poured out a prodigious stream of paintings. But his art is marked by a severity and stateliness more akin to the style of Mantegna, to whom he probably owed at least his chief inspiration, though

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

Berenson's theory, that he owes his sculpturesque dignity to the Paduan sculptor Bellano, would largely account for his more Paduan design ; whilst the same expert also gives his second influence to Gentile Bellini rather than to his brother Giovanni. Montagna, born at Brescia, moved about much amongst the Venetian cities such as Verona and Padua, and worked at Venice itself, but the greater part of his career was passed at Vicenza. He kept to a somewhat early style of painting and design, more akin to the art of the fourteen-hundreds in which he was born than the fifteen-hundreds in which he died.

Girolamo da Santacroce and Francesco da Santacroce were inferior followers of Giovanni Bellini, being of the village of Santa Croce, hard by Bergamo. Francesco was the elder, whether brother or near kin ; his earliest dated work is 1504, the latest 1547 ; and therein lies most of his known history. Girolamo is said to have been assistant to Francesco. The influence of Bellini is evident in their works ; but neither of these men claims greatness. Girolamo da Santacroce was working in and about Venice from 1520 to 1556.

Girolamo da Treviso (1497-1544), born at Treviso, was pupil to his father, Pier Maria Pennacchi ; but his relations with Venice extend little beyond his schooling —his art was wrought in Genoa and Bologna, to neither of which he brought any very great fame. He ended as military engineer in the service of bluff King Henry the Eighth of England, being killed by a ball from a cannon near Boulogne in 1544 ; and the best of him that need be said was that he may be set amidst the host of Raphael-

esque painters rather than be accounted amongst the great Venetians—a title to which he has no claim.

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL

Pier Maria Pennacchi, born at Treviso in 1464, had studied under Bellini, but also shows Squarcione's influence.

LORENZO LOTTO
1480 – 1556

The greatest of the pupils to Alvise Vivarini was Lorenzo Lotto; but he again came under the revelation of Giovanni Bellini and of Bellini's great pupil Giorgione, to say nothing of Titian.

Born at Venice in 1480—his will, made in 1546, states that he was about sixty-six years old—his rich and sensitive art brought him to high distinction in the achievement of the fifteen-hundreds. A reserved and modest man, without pupils, and moving from city to city, his name sank into neglect and he long suffered from lack of the recognition that was his due. But his rich sense of colour and his large style were bound to win him back to fame. Many of his finest works were given to other masters whose art was wholly different from that of Lotto—even when signed by him, when the dirt of ages had hidden his name! Some of these attributions were absolutely fantastic.

A man of pure and simple life, generous, sensitive, of childlike honesty and purpose, and of deep sympathies, Lotto was a lovable personality.

To study his development, it is interesting to look upon one of his earliest known works, the *St. Jerome* at the Louvre, signed and dated 1500. The Earl of Elles-

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

mere possesses at Bridgewater House the *Virgin and Child with Saint Jerome, St. Joseph, St. Clara, and St. Francis*, painted three years later. In the year 1508, being then twenty-eight, he created his first large work in six parts, the Recanati altarpiece of *The Madonna Enthroned between St. Urban and St. Gregory, with St. Dominic and Putti*; the same year in which he painted the *Portrait of a Gentleman* at Hampton Court, the canvas that was long held to be Giorgione's portrait of himself, with long black hair flowing on to his shoulders.

Wandering from city to city, Lorenzo Lotto came to Rome in 1509, and was much impressed by the genius of Raphael, who had entered the city the year before, and was already famous thereat.

At the National Gallery in London may be seen the portrait piece of *Agostino and Niccolò della Torre*, painted in 1515, his thirty-fifth year, wherein Lotto, stopping at Padua to paint Agostino della Torre, professor of medicine at the university there, who holds in his hand the volume of "Galen," the antique writer on medicine. Lotto afterwards on taking the picture to Bergamo, where Niccolò dwelt, had to add the figure of Niccolò, breaking up the original completeness of his design thereby, probably at the insistent desire of Niccolò for whom it was painted, and who paid for it!

The following year of 1516 saw Lotto at work upon *the altarpiece* in San Bartolommeo at Bergamo. Five years later he was again in the same town, painting the large *Madonna* piece in the church of San Bernardino—the same year of 1521 seeing the creation of the *Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Anthony of Padua*, now belonging to the National Gallery, much damaged by restorations

IX

LORENZO LOTTO

1480 – 1556

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"A FAMILY GROUP"

(National Gallery)

Painted in oil on canvas. 3 ft. 9 in. h. × 4 ft. 7 in. w. (1·142 × 1·396).



in water-colour, and lacking the fine qualities of his great *Portrait of the Prothonotary Giuliano* in the same gallery and painted in the same year.

Madrid possesses his *Bride and Bridegroom*, of the year 1523, painted at the time of his rich and sumptuous *Family Group* in London, which is signed and dated in the right-hand top corner, and in which we see Lotto employing the Venetian habit of painting the wrinkled sleeves and folds of drapery with very high lights.

In 1527, the year of the sack of Rome, Lorenzo Lotto returned to Venice, and was on close terms of friendship with his old friend Palma Vecchio, and became acquainted with Titian, Aretino, and a large group of artists and art-lovers, of which last was Andrea Odoni.

At Hampton Court is the *Portrait of Andrea Odoni*, holding a statuette in his hand, and with torsos and statues seen about him, a painting long given to Correggio and said to be of Baccio Bandinelli the sculptor, until, being cleaned, the signature LAVRENTIVS LOTVS, 1527, was discovered upon it; and it was found to answer to Vasari's and Anonimo's description of the portrait of Andrea Odoni. Lotto seemed to catch all the fashions of his day in the craftsmanship of painting; and he undoubtedly at times was in some ways like Correggio in his handling, or perhaps, as Morelli neatly puts it, "Lotto was Correggiesque some time before Correggio himself had attained fame," though, as a matter of fact, Correggio was come to fame before 1527, since he was then thirty-three, had created most of his masterpieces, and was to die within seven years of it, whilst Lotto had twenty-two more years of life before him. However, Lotto was now close upon the years of his art's decline. In 1530 he painted the

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Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery, now at the Louvre, and in 1534 the *Madonna, St. Anne, Joachim, and St. Jerome* now at the Uffizi, which hint at that decline.

August the thirtieth of 1552 saw Lotto settled at Loreto, where, on the 8th day of the September of 1554, he dedicated himself and all he possessed to the Holy House (Santa Casa) at Loreto, which, according to legend was the house of the Virgin at Nazareth, but had been carried by angels to the neighbourhood of Recanati in 1294; and there Lotto sought refuge from the storm and stress of the world. When he painted the series of pictures at Loreto, his wandering life was near done, for he died there at the end of 1556. And in Lorenzo Lotto died a great painter and a noble-hearted man, pure of heart and simple of soul.

From the Friuli country came one MARTINO DA UDINE or, as he is also called, PELLEGRINO DA S. DANIELE, the son of a Dalmatian, Battista, a painter of Udine. He was born about 1460 or 1470, the name Pellegrino (little stranger) showing his origin. Taught by his father, he was driven by the war to Venice, where he rid his art of his early hard dry style, and improved under the influence of Bellini and his pupils, Giorgione, Pordenone, Romanino, Titian and Palma Vecchio. He died in 1547. He is said to have been the master of Pordenone.

PORDENONE

1483 – 1540

Another pupil of Alvise Vivarini who was to win to wide fame in his day was GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA PORDENONE, born in Pordenone in 1483, and dying in 1538.

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL

Whether actually taught by Vivarini, or by a pupil of Vivarini, he too passed to homage of the style of Giovanni Bellini, and came to founding his art on that of Giorgione and Titian. He is said to have been trained in the studio of Pellegrino.

It was in 1528 that he betook himself, in his forty-fifth year, to win at once into that wide vogue as a fresco painter that was to assail Titian's position in Venice. Probably owing to Titian's ungenerous withholding of his praise from his rival—and Titian's lack of recognition of Pordenone and of Tintoretto was not without its baser side—the ages have come to the survey of Pordenone's art with a faction attitude created by their homage to Titian. But the recognition of Pordenone's brilliant genius is sure.

His great works in the churches and public buildings of Pordenone, Udine, Conegliano, Cremona, and Treviso have all suffered—indeed some have been covered with whitewash ; but his great gifts, his superb draughtsmanship, his sense of action and movement, the richness and breadth of his colour, his masterful treatment of light, his free handling, and the dignity of his vision, all went to make up the genius of a man who can take his place close to the greatest painters of his age. Unfortunately, not only did he employ fresco, but he employed it to such an extent as to leave him small time for oil-painting ; and his achievement in this field did not reach to his splendour in fresco.

In 1540, the year of his death, he was Titian's most serious rival ; and though not to be placed beside Titian, he deserves a high position in the history of Venetian art. From the time he went to Venice, in 1528, he became

one of the most successful painters of his age. And so unfriendly was Titian's attitude towards him that Pordenone seems to have gone in fear of his life—he probably dreaded Aretino's rough methods even more—however, he always went about armed to protect himself from assault. Yet, in his youth, Titian had approved some work by Pordenone.

The Venice Academy possesses his *St. Lorenzo Giustiniani with St. John the Baptist and Other Saints*, rich, luminous, brilliant, and radiant in colour, and the dignified *Madonna del Carmelo*, which, though much repainted, contains the fine portraits of the family of the Ottoboni of Pordenone, for whom this Madonna was painted in 1526.

PUPILS OF PORDENONE

One of Pordenone's pupils was Bernardino Licinio, working from 1520 to 1544, of whose life little is known except that he was a kinsman and pupil of Pordenone, and was either born in the town of Pordenone in Friuli, or at Venice, and died about 1549. He is chiefly known for his portraits, of which the group called *The Artist and his Family* at the Borghese Palace is his masterpiece. The portraits are of the artist's brother Arrigo Licinio and family. Hampton Court possesses the fine portrait of the *Lady Playing on the Virginals*, as well as another family group. Besides his master Pordenone, Bernardino Licinio was deeply indebted to Giorgione and to Palma Vecchio, as well as to Bonifazio.

Another pupil of Pordenone was Francesco Beccaruzzi, whose working time covers the middle half of the fifteen-hundreds, and who imitated in turn all his

great Venetian contemporaries, ending with Paolo Veronese. His masterpiece is the *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, now at the Academy in Venice, a large arrangement of life-size figures, which shows him a master of composition, and capable of painting so beautiful a face as St. Catherine's. It was the altarpiece for the church of the Franciscans at Conegliano.

IN WHICH THE PUPILS OF THE VIVARINI DESERT IN SHOALS TO THE RIVAL

CHAPTER XIII

WHEREIN BIG GEORGE CREATES THE SPLENDOUR OF VENICE

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

We are now come to the giants of the Venetian art who were trained in the mysteries and craft of painting in the workshop of Giovanni Bellini. The first and foremost, and the maker of them all, was Giorgione.

GIORGIONE

1477 - 1510

Giorgione, or Zorzon, of Castelfranco, or Giorgio Barbarelli, as he was long called, owing to the gossip that made him an illegitimate child of one of the Barbarelli family to a peasant girl of Vedelago, was born at Castelfranco in 1477, to one Giovanni, from Vedelago, hard by, who had become a citizen of Castelfranco in 1460. That he was one of the world's great illegitimates, and that he was buried in the tomb of the Barbarelli—an honour generally reserved for kin of the family, and in Italy it was close kin to be illegitimate offspring—are mere myths; but even had he been so buried, the intimate friends of a family were sometimes given this last honour—one of those pretty compliments, like flowers at a funeral, that the living enjoy rather than the dead. As a matter of fact, the name of Barbarelli is never once given to him by his contemporaries and is a myth of later date. And Giorgione's signature of V strongly suggests that he was Giorgio da Vedelago.

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But whether legitimate or illegitimate, whether Giorgione or Zorzon or Giorgio or Barbarelli, to the ages he is known by his nickname of Giorgione, or "Big George," and his name is a large part of the splendour of Venice. As quite a small boy, Giorgione was sent to grind colours and undergo the initiation into the art and mysteries of painting in the studio of Giovanni Bellini, where he soon began to show astounding intelligence, and was early making his mark, being soon master of all that Bellini could teach him. And the temperament of the genial, dreamy young fellow found in the charming art of Carpaccio a feeling that made its mark on his development. He was soon the leading spirit of the brilliant group of Bellini's 'prentices that included Palma (Il Vecchio), better known to us as Jacopo Palma Vecchio, Sebastiano Luciani, whom we know as Sebastiano del Piombo, and Titian of Cadore. Big of heart and soul as he was mighty of stature, he was early not only creating school amongst his fellows, but Bellini himself became subject to him.

Giorgione was to the art of Venice much what Watteau was later to be to the art of France; indeed they both had the idyllic and dreamy vision, and both were destined to an early grave. Both created the *Fête Champêtre*; and both had a profound effect on the art of their race. Both created impressionism for their race.

His short life of thirty-two years meant a revelation to the whole art of Venice, and had a far-reaching effect across the Apennines upon the Tuscans; its glamour reached out beyond Italy; and to Giorgione and Correggio was largely due not only the revelation of Venice, but of Spain and France. For Giorgione's genius was

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early realised by his master Giovanni Bellini, whose last years show him adapting his art to the world that Giorgione opened up to him; and his art largely created the achievement of his great fellow-student Titian. Thus Spain and Flanders, France and England, owe tribute to him.

Yet, of Giorgione's life all too little is known. Gossip has it that he went from Bellini's studio to Castelfranco, there to paint his famous altarpiece; but missing his pleasant life in Venice, returned thereto and took a house in Campo di San Silvestro, where he gathered about him a number of friends "with whom he passed a merry life, playing the lute and enjoying himself." Here he painted the front of his house to attract patrons. It is pathetic to think of his great powers being wasted upon painting armorial shields, cabinets, beds, and the like. The old writers speak of his painting "many pictures"; and of his producing "but few pictures"! As a matter of common sense, it would have been wholly impossible for Giorgione to have exerted the wide influence that he did, and for which we have abundant proof both from the writers of the day and from the still more significant fact of his effect upon the greatest painters of his time, unless he had been the creator of considerable work. Yet his life was too short for such wide achievement as that of a Titian or a Tintoretto.

Giorgione expresses the spirit of his age. He suddenly reveals an art that has no foundation in masters. The age tingled in his blood and he gave way to his pulsing instincts and created the mighty achievement of Venice thereby.

Giorgione awoke in a Venice to which the new paganism of the Renaissance had come, finding fruitful ground.

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It was the moment when the noble Venetian, Catarina Cornaro, ex-Queen of Cyprus, set up her little court at Asolo, where forgathered the wits and poets—and their whole discourse was of Love. The books and poems of the day are all conversations on the love of man for woman. It created Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre* as surely as the sparks fly upwards. CATARINA CORNARO was born in 1454; she must have been about forty to forty-five—that is to say in the year about 1500—when Giorgione painted his superb portrait of her now in the Crespi collection at Milan, and known as *La Schiavona*, one of his masterpieces. On the death of the King of Cyprus Catarina had given up her rights to Venice, and retired to Asolo, near Castelfranco in 1489. Giorgione painted his kindly, genial hostess and friend with a power that makes her smile a living thing, her eye a seeing thing. She was to die in 1510, the year that closed the life of her immortal painter. It is one of the supreme portraits of the age. Why Titian signed it is not easy to discover, for clearly, when Vasari saw it in 1544, it was acknowledged to be by Giorgione. Still, he may have touched it up later.

The politics of his day meant nothing for Giorgione—he was concerned with life. Shrugging an uninterested shoulder at the storm and stress of public affairs about him, Giorgione bent his imagination wholly upon the Venice that lay before him in all its fascination. Fascinating and handsome of person, he was a favourite with women. Early winning the valuable goodwill of the ex-Queen of Cyprus, Catarina Cornaro, fortune came to him betimes, for she exerted herself to get him orders for work.

A HISTORY

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

The artistic revelation in painting that came to Giorgione is astounding. When we set the *Fête Champêtre* beside the most advanced work of Bellini, there yawns so profound a gulf that Giorgione stands forth a miracle. The only clue that we have to anything like even a part explanation of it—and that only in a very limited sense—is Vasari's gossip that, on Leonardo da Vinci's visit to Venice in 1500, the young artist of twenty-four saw some of his works and was much struck by the "extraordinary softness" and the way in which Leonardo "threw into powerful relief by extreme darkness of shadows." Vasari naturally would love to think that a Venetian "ever afterwards copied" a Florentine. But it is likely enough that Leonardo's light and shade did reveal the mighty possibilities to Giorgione of treating colour in the same way.

It is pathetic to think that so much of his genius was wasted in painting the outside walls of Venetian houses for the salt sea breezes of Venice to destroy. We know that the Exchange of the German Merchants, on being rebuilt after the fire of 1504, was thus decorated by Giorgione in 1508, and was accounted his masterpiece. Whether so or not we shall never know. The frescoes were already in decay when Vasari saw them in 1541.

That he wrought the frescoes on the front of his house in the Campo San Silvestro is sure; and as sure that, with Titian, he painted the long-since perished frescoes of the façade of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi in Venice. The old writers give his age as thirty-four. His art career was passed wholly at Venice and Castelfranco, and the plague of 1510 that smote Venice and destroyed twenty thousand of her citizens took Giorgione

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also—and in the cruelty brought art one of her severest losses.

An artist utters always the emotions or sensations which he is capable of feeling. No amount of artifice or pose or mimicry will hide the real man. The insincerities will be insincere; the sincerities will reveal themselves. It is needless to say that Giorgione was a lover of music (and we know that he had great skill upon the lute), for he founded his harmonics of colour on the harmonies of the sister art of music, realised the oneness of the arts, and created thereby a lyrical sense of colour which has been a revelation to the ages. Of a dreamy, poetic nature, he uttered his emotions in pure colour, and, freeing his art from its subjection to architectural decoration, he made the easel picture a thing complete in itself—a complete poem independent of all outer consideration. At once he purified the art, and enabled colour and form and atmosphere to utter the mood of the emotion desired, free from all other conditions. By consequence, figure and landscape become partakers of the mood desired, and, wholly unconcerned with mere drawing or colour for their own sakes, utter a music that places Giorgione amongst the supreme poets and painters of the years.

Ridding his art of the religious conventions, and putting from him mere political events, he gave himself to uttering the spirit and mood of his age.

We know of the stupendous achievement of Masaccio and of Raphael in their short lives; Giorgione's accomplishment must also have been great, as was that of Watteau, to have exercised the prodigious influence he did. We know from Anonimo that many of his works

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are not now to be found. His early work, naturally, reflects his master, Giovanni Bellini, and hints of Carpaccio. This early work showing his training under Bellini is rounded off by the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* —that masterpiece of which Ruskin wrote, as he seems to have done of scores of others, that it was "one of the two most perfect pictures in existence," and adds with more enthusiasm than insight into the teachings of the Master of Christianity, "alone in the world as an imaginative representation of Christianity, with a monk and a soldier on each side," which is particularly dry, since Christianity has, as one of its basic principles, the forbidding of war and in its stead the forgiveness of assault. The National Gallery in London possesses the *Knight in Armour*, which was probably a study for the warrior, *S. Liberale*. However, the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* is a master work, and when we remember that it was painted in 1504, Giorgione's twenty-seventh year, and still holds something of the Bellini influence, it is a marvel, that Giorgione, only having some six more years to live, should have developed his art thenceforth so astoundingly. Serene, exquisite, subtle, and tender, the famed altarpiece has a lyrical utterance that is all Giorgione's own. The landscape bathed in the light of the early morning sun echoes the pensive sense of reverie.

Of Giorgione's work before 1500, one of the most famous is the National Gallery so-called *Ariosto*—which portrait of *Barberigo* shows the double V signature of Giorgione on the Giorgione parapet—the essential style in every detail, to the treatment of the eye, that is the sign manual of Giorgione's art. Why it was after-

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wards worked upon by Titian, and signed by him over Giorgione's initials, we shall probably never know, unless it was an early portrait, left unfinished in some detail by Giorgione in his studio when he died of the plague.

Of about the same date is the *Portrait of a Poet* at the National Gallery, at present set down to Palma Vecchio or to Titian. It is by neither—nor is it of a poet. Palma Vecchio was incapable of painting it. It is pure Giorgione—in refinement, in pensive intensity, in handling, in the oval convention and high brow of the face, in its poetic abstraction. It is the portrait of *Prospero Colonna*, Liberator of Italy (1464-1523), in or about his thirty-sixth year, 1500, when he visited Venice.

Superb as is the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* in its colour and dignity, and above all in its haunting sense of reverie, what a vast gulf divides it from the revelation of the *Fête Champêtre* at the Louvre!

Amongst his early work of the fourteen-hundred-and-nineties the Uffizi possesses the *Judgment of Solomon* and the *Trial of Moses*, whilst Mrs. Gardner of Boston in the United States owns the Vicenza *Christ bearing the Cross*.

The *Adoration of the Magi* (or *Epiphany*) of 1500 is at the National Gallery in London, painted by Giorgione a little before his *Castelfranco Altarpiece*. The small Benson *Holy Family* is of about the same time, and the glowing Wentworth Beaumont *Adoration of the Shepherds* is of the *Soldier and Gipsy* period to which we are about to come. The Vienna replica of this *Adoration of the Shepherds* is also likely enough the work of Giorgione's hand.

But we must turn awhile to Giorgione's early portraiture, to that haunting and wondrous *Portrait of a Young Man* at Berlin, painted early in the fourteen-

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hundred-and-nineties, with its exquisite poetic craftsmanship, its perplexing parapet with the mysterious double V carved upon it, and Giorgione's introduction into portraiture of the significance and character of the hand, which was thenceforth to become a fashion.

Of about the altarpiece years is the *Apollo and Daphne* at the Seminario in Venice, originally the painting on the panel of a cassone or coffer. Padua also possesses four glowing and beautiful cassone panels by Giorgione, and Bergamo another, the *Orpheus and Eurydice* with an exquisite Giorgione landscape. The *Adrastus and Hypsipyle* is, with the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* and the *Æneas, Evander, and Pallas* at Vienna, one of the three unchallenged works of Giorgione. Here Giorgione is in the full possession of his impressionistic and lyrical style. I cannot agree with Mr. Cook that this picture is earlier in style than the altarpiece. Whilst the *Æneas, Evander, and Pallas* (called also *The Three Philosophers* or *The Chaldean Sages*) is most likely as early or earlier—though Anonimo in 1525 says that it was finished by Giorgione's pupil, Sebastiano del Piombo—whether this be so or not, it does not prove that the picture was not an earlier unfinished work, it need not have been a late one in order to be left unfinished.

Of the fifteen-hundreds was Giorgione's beautiful *Sleeping Venus* at Dresden, of which Titian worked upon the landscape, and in which he added a cupid, since cleaned off. Herein Giorgione again reveals himself a very poet, master of refined grace, painting with astounding subtlety and charm, uttering with rare music of line, the beauty of woman. With what consummate tact he makes the long, horizontal rhythm of the fair flesh increase

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the sense of repose! Of the same period was the superb and dignified *Judith* at St. Petersburg, in which Giorgione again is seen as consummate artist, employing his craft to utter in exquisite fashion the emotional idea. Serene, majestic, in calm reverie, stands the beautifully spaced figure, her hand upon the hilt of the sword as no man's fingers would ever hold it, the dark tree behind her adding to her stateliness, and giving the uplift of dignity to the absolutely perfect spacing of the whole.

In Venice, at S. Rocco, is Giorgione's *Christ bearing the Cross*, and at the Academy of Venice is *The Storm calmed by St. Mark*, supposed to be a late work, but so heavily repainted that it is hard to imagine even Giorgione's inspiration, far removed as it is from his type of art; it is far more in keeping with that of Paris Bordone, to whose *Fishermen presenting the Ring to the Doge* it at one time hung pendant in the Scuola di S. Marco. The *Portrait of a Lady* at the Borghese shows, through its ruined state, the tense sense of character that marks the portraiture of Giorgione—with its use of the parapet and the hands upon the parapet.

Of Giorgione's mature art, that displays him as a portrait-painter of great power, is the *Knight of Malta* at the Uffizi, and the beautiful and poetic portrait of *An Unknown Man* in the possession of the Honourable Mrs. Meynell-Ingram at Temple Newsam in Yorkshire, a masterpiece signed by Giorgione's pensive, seeing eye, his beauty of colour, his parapet, and his whole style. The stagey and ineffective *Judgment of Solomon* in the Bankes collection (of which Ridolfi writes) was of the years 1507-8; but Giorgione was not at ease in the subject, and it baffled him, being utterly alien to his

genius, and having corrected and corrected the same, he left it incomplete. Much more in Giorgione's vein, and a fine example of his gift of portraiture, is the Buda-Pesth *Portrait of Antonio Broccardo* (or *Young Man*) painted about this time, 1508, in the silvery key that forestalls Velasquez, deep and resonant, with its wondrous background of sky and cloud and distant hills, its black, gold-braided dress, its black hair in a brown net—a pensive, melancholy soul. Again the parapet—and the V.

In *The Three Ages of Man*, at the Pitti in Florence, much damaged though it is, and attributed to this, that, and the other, Giorgione begins his so-called "conversations," wherein he creates a group of portraits, generally three, as though casually brought together. His *Nymph and Satyr* in the same gallery, heavily over-painted, is also late work. At the Prado is a very fine and characteristic *Madonna and Child with Saints*, by Giorgione—a fine composition. He was to paint another such "conversation" group in the famous *Concert* at the Pitti, which has caused such warfare amongst the critics—largely due to its being one of the pictures that Titian was destined to finish after Giorgione's death.

We are now come to the splendid achievement of Giorgione's last two years, when he had evolved his art by rapid strides into the superb impressionism that reveals itself in his glowing *Fête Champêtre* or *Pastoral Symphony* at the Louvre. It is one of the supreme tragedies of art that he should just have reached the blossoming of his great genius when the plague cut short his splendour and stilled his wondrous hand. That some critics challenge this great work would only go to prove, if they were

X

GIORGIONE

1477? – 1510

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"PASTORAL SYMPHONY"

(Concert Champêtre)

(Louvre)

Painted in oil on canvas. 3 ft. 7½ in. × 4 ft. 6½ in. (1·10 × 1·38).



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right, that some genius greater than Giorgione lived in Venice wholly unknown, his art sought after but unappreciated by his fellow-artists! A critic who sets it down to an imitator writes himself down a fool. To Giorgione, then, or to a greater than Giorgione, was given its making. Where shall you find a more perfect idyll in colour than this—which created the Venetian achievement and led the Venetian genius to the high road of its vast triumphs? Giorgione has come into his own, his hand ranges freely; he sacrifices care of detail and elaborate draughtsmanship to general impression. He bursts into full song.

From that early *Unknown Subject* (or *Golden Age*) in the National Gallery, in which Giorgione first appears as a mere youth evolving the lyric in painting, to his superb *Pastoral Symphony*, how rapidly his hand's skill has advanced to mastery! In the charming *Unknown Subject* he is still subject to Carpaccio and Bellini, though uttering a vision all his own.

In that *Pastoral Symphony* by Giorgione is a vast significance for the art of painting. The poetic vision has discovered what has been wholly denied to Florence. At a step the art has advanced into a wider realm. Impressionism has been born.

Let us be clear about this label of "Impressionism"—since the printed word, plied recklessly both by ignorant and by academic minds, has too much bewildered the general conception of it.

Art, whether uttered in colour or speech or form or sound, whether in paintings or letters or sculpture, must find the music for its utterance by and through forms

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which shall reveal the intention and design of the artist to us. It begins in what is called the classic realm which line creates by its chaste severities of form, holding the masses subject to it. For instance, creative literature begins as verse—what the unseeing call poetry—because verse being in pattern and answering in many ways to the rhythm of line, is more easily remembered by peoples unable to read than are the more subtle rhythms of great prose. This emphasis of line or rhymes or verse and the like is an inevitable product of all art in its primitive endeavour.

You shall always find academic minds speaking with awe and respect of such primitive endeavour as compared to fuller endeavour. The consequence is that the ordinary critic, though in his heart he does not really *feel* it, always speaks of Italy as having produced the greatest art of painting!

Now as an art develops, and artists are impelled to fuller utterance and to express wider and more subtle emotions or impressions, they find themselves baulked by the limitations of their forerunners, at the same time that they find the people to whom they address their art to be far more developed towards receiving the art that they would utter into their senses. Artistry, then, searches to find a fuller garment of expression. The next development, then, to the classic rhythm of line is, and has always been, towards a general impression—to set masses in harmonious relation, value against value, light against dark, making line subject to such massing until the *general impression* is evolved as a whole, and strikes the eye as a whole, instead of the eye having to go close to the design and to pick it out detail by detail.

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As art rises to full achievement, the more profound and sonorous utterance of impressionism usurps the dominance of line, opening up to itself a wider garment to express sensing, a deeper and more resounding orchestration, with all the added power of suggestion and the hauntingness that are in mystery. Impressionism gives the hand's skill its supreme power of statement, bringing into the art the widest powers of utterance, from the gossamer lyricism of light to the dramatic deeps of blackest profundity, the suggestive hauntingness of deep shadows.

Now the classic art, being subject to law, is ever beloved of the academies; and the literary mind ever leaps to judge painting by such law. Impressionism is ever the realm of the rebel.

Venice, through the revelation of Giorgione, ever increasing her boundaries in the realm of art through Titian, Veronese, Correggio, and Tintoretto, increased the power of artistic utterance and opened the gates to Spain and to Holland, and, through Spain and Holland, to France and Britain, until, in Turner, impressionism was to find a still wider revelation, and by the music that is in colour, he was to utter the freshness of the dawn in fitting harmonies, the glory of the sunset in a colour-orchestration of which no Italian ever dreamed, he was to discover harmonies that stated the mood of cool meadows and running brooks, he was to utter the dramatic violence of the elements so that the roll of the thunders and the majestic angers of the heavens find their absolutely just and fit interpretation through the wizardry that was granted to the son of a Cockney barber.

Let us for a moment put impressionism into the

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simple terms of an example to the man in the street. Supposing the artist paints a daisy in a meadow as minutely as he would paint a single daisy in a glass. The daisy may be absolutely true as science—it may deceive the eye against a real daisy ; but, stand away from the canvas, and if the daisy is not painted in its true value to the rest of the meadow, it will not only be wasted toil, but it will be wholly untrue and out of value with the whole.

It is pathetic to think that just as Giorgione set eyes upon the promised land—nay, more, set foot into it, death should have taken him.

There has been of late much renaming of pictures, much juggling with names of the painters. Mostly good has been done ; but there has also been much pedantry. The ruined *Venus Disarming Cupid* at the Wallace has lost Giorgione's name ; it does not prevent it being a work by Giorgione. From the *Venus and Adonis* at the National Gallery has been struck the name of Giorgione ; the sooner it is put back again the better. It is a glowing and richly-hued example of Giorgione's great last years, the years of his superb *Pastoral Symphony* at the Louvre.

If Giorgione did not paint these works, the *Pastoral Symphony* and the *Venus and Adonis*, then a greater than he was living and creating the art of Venice. To me it matters no fig whether this proof or that proof add a jot or tittle to the history of a painting—it is in the *art* of it, its utterance and its significance, that its whole essence is ; and to him who cannot sense the music that is in these things, the dry, scientific details of experting will

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bring nothing but pedantry and the satisfaction of the antique-dealing spirit.

And whilst we are on the subject of filching Giorgione's credit, it is well here and now for the student to examine closely another work by Giorgione that criticism has taken from him and given to Titian. The famous "*Gipsy Madonna*" at Vienna is pure Giorgione, which the immature hand of Titian, imitate he ever so cleverly, could not have created; nor did he create it. Here at every touch is Giorgione—even to his parapet. In the Benson collection is a *Holy Family* of Giorgione's earlier period, which also contains a charming *Madonna and Child* by him. The famous *Gipsy Madonna* has probably grown into Titian's repute from the signed copy that he made of it, now at Rovigo.

The Adulteress before Christ is challenged by the experts as not being the work of Giorgione. It is true that such a subject was not fitted to Giorgione's lyrical art. But here again, for all its hesitations and shortcomings, the hand of Giorgione is writ large over all—in its types, its attitudes, its details—above all in its artistry, its splendid colour, its romantic sense, its glowing chiaroscuro, its rich qualities. It shares with the *Judgment of Solomon* the honour of Giorgione's art—if of his failures in dramatic painting.

But it was in the *Pastoral Symphony* at the Louvre, and in that other treasure of the Louvre, his rich and glowing masterpiece of the *Madonna and Saints*, with the arrow-pierced Sebastian, that we get the measure of the loss to art in the death of Giorgione just as he reached to the ripeness of his great genius. The loss to the world in the cessation of his blithe lyricism was to be atoned

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by the passing on of his revelation to Titian and the Venetian genius; but for all their splendour, his loss leaves a void.

Giorgione's great portrait of *Catarina Cornaro* creates the portraiture of the Renaissance; his lyric intensity in the *Pastoral Symphony* creates the art of Venice. His pupil Sebastiano del Piombo, and his assistant Titian, were subject to him; Lotto, Palma Vecchio, Bonifazio, Bordone, Pordenone, Cariani, Dosso Dossi, Romanino owed heavy tribute to him, all Venice was his conquest. He created the landscape with figures—discovered the poetry of the life of his day. Flesh yielded to his brush all its allure; textures, whether of silk or satin or brocade, of rich stuffs or of stone parapets, gave up their touch. The sun surrendered to him his light, the landscape its glowing splendours. He creeps into our senses through the wizardry and mystery of colour.

The far-famed *Fête Champêtre* or *Pastoral Symphony* or *Rural Concert*, call it what you will, created the vogue of the painted idyls that were to lead Venetian art to such lyric outburst in colour. The musicians made music for the disrobed or disrobing ladies but in order to enable Giorgione to utter the blithe gaiety of life, stated in the allure and gleam of flesh in the magic light of glowing landscape. That wonderful painting has inspired a host of painters to brilliant achievement. In it Giorgione is the first Venetian to reveal the true significance of the art he served so well. And in essaying to utter the music of colour, his brush leaps as though to a magic hand to utter his poem. Whether he willed to express the mood of pure Romanticism in the dramatic threat of his so-called *Giorgione's Family*, or as it is also called, *Stormy*

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Landscape with the Soldier and Gipsy, but really an illustration of Adrastus and Hypsipyle from the "Thebaid" of Statius at the Giovanelli Palace in Venice—whether he uttered the peaceful serenity of twilight in the *Three Philosophers* at Vienna—or his hand's skill creates his lovely vision of the *Sleeping Venus* at Dresden, Giorgione reveals to the world that a poet of colour has been born, giving voice to an art that thrusts forward the power of painting to say in terms of colour what has aforetime only been attempted in song. From the day that Giorgione came, the realm of art knew vast increase—he conquered a continent.

Hampton Court possesses the *Shepherd with Panpipe*, which hints of Giorgione's influence, if not by his hand. But his name has for generations been given to scores of works that his eyes never dwelt upon, far less his brush ever touched; and it may be that the present limited field of his achievement will be rapidly enlarged as soon as the false record has been cast from him. That he created much is unlikely, for he did not live long.

So little is known of the life of Giorgione that he has become the victim of much romance. He is said to have died of grief at the discovery of the betrayal of his mistress by his friend and pupil Morto da Feltre; but this is easily disproved by the correspondence between Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, and her agent Abano in Venice—which letter, by the way, speaks of two night pictures that Mr. Cook shrewdly suspects to be the Wentworth Beaumont and Vienna *Adoration of the Shepherds* (or "Nativities").

Giorgione left several works unfinished in his studio when the plague fell upon him, which were afterwards

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wrought upon, more or less, by Titian—the *Barberigo Portrait*, now at the National Gallery, sometimes called the Darnley *Ariosto* (Ariosto it is not)—the famous *Concert* at the Pitti in Florence—in both of which the Giorgione eye and the handling are undoubtedly Giorgione; whilst the so-called *Ariosto* has the Giorgione parapet and the Giorgione double V signature, to say nothing of the Giorgione treatment of the hair and head. The Querini-Stampalia Gallery of Venice contains an unfinished *Portrait of a Man* by him. One of the last works of his hands was the so-called *Portrait of the Physician Parma* at Vienna, usually given to Titian, though it is neither by Titian, nor is it of a physician, nor is it of Parma. Its whole art is the art of Giorgione.

At the end of the October of 1510, the plague that swept Venice entered into the home of Big George, and racked the great body of Giorgione, who lay him down and died at the ending of this his thirty-fourth year, to the bitter grief of a host of friends to whom he had endeared himself by his charm of personality. He was buried probably off Venice with the 20,000 other victims of the plague; nor does there seem to be any substance in the story of his bones being removed in 1638 to the family vault of the Barbarelli at Castelfranco, except as an invention to complete the Barbarelli myth.

Giorgione created the achievement of Venice in her great century of the fifteen-hundreds — Venice found her nightingale in him. Titian, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Morto da Feltre were his only reputed pupils—or perhaps we may say assistants. Both Titian and Sebastiano worked upon his unfinished canvases.

CHAPTER XIV

WHEREIN THE MIGHTY MANTLE OF BIG GEORGE FALLS UPON A GIANT

TITIAN

1477 or 1489–1576

WHEREIN THE MIGHTY MANTLE OF BIG GEORGE FALLS UPON A GIANT

In the little upland town of Pieve di Cadore amid the foothills of the Alps that lie northwards of Venice, some time between the years 1477 and 1490, there was born to Gregorio Vecelli, distinguished in war and in council, a man of one of the most important families of the place, and to his wife Lucia, their second son Tiziano Vecelli, to become world-famous as Titian.

The old tradition of Titian's birth in 1577 is shaken by the witness of his contemporary who speaks of Titian as assisting Giorgione with the outside frescoes of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi at Venice, when he was "about twenty years of age"—twenty years back from 1507-8 would place Titian's birth in 1488. Later research has placed it in 1489! Tiziano of Cadore, he called himself, and 1477, *he* said, was the year of his birth!

The elder lad, Francesco Vecelli, and Titian showed such early precocity towards art that they were sent at twelve and ten to their uncle, a lawyer at Venice, to be prenticed to the mysteries. Titian his uncle sent to one Sebastian Zuccato, but the lad seems almost at once to have passed on to Gentile Bellini. That he benefited from the collection of Greek antique sculpture gathered together in Gentile Bellini's house by the Rialto is

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sure; but the young Titian seems to have passed early to the care of Gentile's brother Giovanni Bellini, where he became one of a group of students and 'prentices who were to come to immortal fame—Giorgio di Barbarelli whom we know as Giorgione, Jacopo Palma, whom we call Palma Vecchio, and Sebastiano del Piombo.

The lad Titian came to a Venice at the very height of her glory—did not Philip de Commines write of her in 1495 as "the most triumphant city that I have ever seen"? and he had seen many; and the splendour of it bit into his vision and coloured his blood and tingled in his hand's skill to utter it.

Whether the boy of ten or twelve came into a studio in the forefront of which stood the burly figure of the young giant Giorgione, then on the edge of manhood, some ten or twelve years older than he; or whether they were of the same age when they met, the boy Titian early fell under the glamour of Giovanni Bellini's great pupil, the mightiest and subtlest of them all, Giorgione or "Big George" as the nickname has it—soon the head and front of the 'prentice group. Giorgione, great of stature and dominant in personality, won all hearts. His original vision and his independent art set aflame the great achievement of the fifteen-hundreds, into which he was to live so short a while, but most of all it created the genius of his great follower Titian. His haunting art opened the gates to a garden wherein Venice discovered the music that is in colour; and to Titian of all his fellows most of all. Titian never caught the haunting subtlety of the revelation, but all else he made his own, and built thereon a mighty art, which if it lack the exquisite sense of poetry granted to Giorgione, carried

his artistry to larger and more majestic performance. Titian drew from the deep gamut of the music that is in colour a vast volume of sound as of a mighty orchestra. And though his types of black-bearded men are often somewhat vulgar, he discovered beauty of form as well as splendour of colour, whereby to utter the magnificence of life. He breathed the nature-spirit of the new paganism ; and when he turned to the religious pictures, was more concerned with the dramatic essence of its mood than with its spiritual significance.

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When Titian was at school to the mysteries of his craft, the quattrocentists of Florence were passing away ; Verrocchio died in 1488—Piero dei Franceschi in 1492—Ghirlandaio in 1494—Crivelli, probably the year after ; he signed his last signed work in 1494—Pollaiuolo and Benozzo Gozzoli in 1498. Titian was already making his mark in 1504 when Filippino Lippi died and Michelangelo's *David* was set up in Florence. Nearer home, the Paduan Mantegna died in 1506. At Florence, Botticelli died in 1510, and Pintoricchio in 1513. He was to live through the great Florentine and Venetian achievement of the fifteen-hundreds ; and when he died, two men of genius alone survived in the realm of Italian painting—Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, both of the Venetian School.

The deadly plague of 1510 that swept over Venice and took the giant George, spared Titian ; whose name was already of repute amongst his fellows. He had worked with Giorgione upon the frescoes on the front of the German Trading Company's Fondaco dei Tedeschi, which the salt breezes of the lagoons have mercilessly obliterated, as indeed the sea air destroys all fresco.

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Titian, whether in his twenty-first or thirty-fourth year—in the year after the death of Giorgione, betook himself to Padua; but Donatello and the Tuscan aims in art had nothing to say to Titian. Within a year he was back again in Venice, to find only Palma remaining of his three great companions — Sebastiano del Piombo having gone to Rome. To the completing of the unfinished work of his dead friend Giorgione, he next put his hand, and was soon firmly settled in his stead as the leading painter of Venice. In 1513 he makes petition in no humble phrasing for the office of the official painter to the State—the first of a series of petitions that so greatly galled his aged master Bellini — beginning with the famous phrase, "I, Titian of Cadore, have from childhood upwards studied the art of painting, desirous of a little fame rather than of profit." Rome had clearly been tempting him southwards, for he appeals to the "high and mighty Lords" to deliver him from the temptation. He was hotly opposed by the Bellini and by Carpaccio amongst others; and in spite of three years' strenuous effort to get the post, it was denied him until the death of Giovanni Bellini rendered it vacant for him. Titian can scarcely be said to have shown exquisite taste in his efforts to step into his master's shoes.

To this brokership, which carried with it the office of painter to the State, Titian came, then, in 1516, and forthwith took a house near San Samuele, with a studio, where he set to work upon his designs for the Hall of the Great Council for which he had striven to get the brokership. But Titian ever had a glittering eye for gold; more profitable orders soon called him away, and he airily set aside the work, nor showed eagerness to fulfil

XI

TITIAN

1489?–1576

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"THE MAN WITH A GLOVE"

(L'homme au Gant)

(Louvre)

Painted in oil on canvas. Signed on the plinth: "TICIANVS. F." 3 ft. 3½ in. × 2 ft. 11 in. (1·0 × 0·89).



WHEREIN THE MIGHTY MANTLE OF BIG GEORGE FALLS UPON A GIANT

his pompous promises. For the call not only came from the great of Venice, but the princes of the States beyond her borders were rivals for the rising young master's work. Alfonzo d'Este I., Duke of Ferrara, led the vogue in this very year of 1516, in that handsome patronage which lasted for twenty years.

With his entry into his office of State-painter began, roughly speaking, what is called Titian's second period. He had heretofore shown the direct impress of Giorgione's genius, not without tribute to his other fellow-student, Palma Vecchio, who had also been in turn indebted to Titian. During the first or early period, Titian had concerned himself with portraits, idylls of the Giorgionesque atmosphere, some Holy Families, and "conversations," as the forgatherings of saints were called, and a few votive paintings. This stage, of what may be called his early years of youth and discipleship, brought forth amongst its chief masterpieces the *Man with the Glove* (now at the Louvre) in portraiture, and the superb *Sacred and Profane Love* (at the Borghese) in the Giorgione tradition of the painted idyll.

It will be seen that, in his early development, Titian begins in the Bellini tradition—we see him at work on the conventional religious picture treated in the conventional fashion, and arranged in the conventional order. Against a flat central curtain is the Madonna or Christ—beyond is a landscape, whilst at either side and somewhat beneath the central figure stand the attendant saints. In his second period we shall see Titian sweep aside this formality, placing the principal figure to one side, and grouping the attendant figures across his canvas, creating the typical later Venetian *Holy Conversation*, instead of

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

the earlier hierarchical impression; and, in the doing, he was undoubtedly moved thereto by the example of Giorgione, towards setting his figures in the open air. His own idylls, inherited from Giorgione, led him thereto; and we see him painting these idylls in his transition from the Bellini convention. From these idylls, such as the *Sacred and Profane Love*, he created what he himself called the *poesie* or poems of his second period, of which the superb *Bacchus and Ariadne* is one of the supreme masterpieces.

But to go back to his early period.

One of Titian's earliest reputed pictures is the *Gipsy Madonna* at Vienna. It is not the early work of any man—certainly not of Titian. Its consummate composition and its style are the work of Giorgione, the voice of Giorgione, the whole essence of Giorgione. Whether by Giorgione or by Titian, the *Gipsy Madonna* is often condemned by writers on art as being poor in composition. Whatever Titian's faults—and he had glaring faults at times—lack of arrangement was not one of them; to him arrangement was a very instinct; and, whether by him or not, the *Gipsy Madonna* proves a grip of composition; and, what is more, originality in the same. In the presence of it one has none of that sense of ill-ease created by bad arrangement—none of that longing to cut down the space here or there.

The wealthy and powerful house of Pesaro was one of the greatest of Venetian families; in 1503 Jacopo Pesaro commissioned the young Titian to commemorate the Battle of Santa Maura in which he had first vanquished the Turks. For him Titian painted the large Antwerp picture, once in the possession of Charles I. of

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England, entitled *Pope Alexander VI.* (*Roderigo Borgia*) *presenting Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos* (*Baffo*) *to St. Peter*; this early work shows Titian still influenced by Bellini, though here is marked advance for so young a painter, spite of the huddled and dwarfish Peter and the distracting design of his footstool. If, as is supposed, this painting were done in 1502-3, it is incredible that a boy of fourteen could have painted such a picture; and one is inclined to accept Titian's own date of 1477 as his birth date—the work of twenty-five it certainly might be. Yet later than 1503 it certainly was not painted, for the hated Borgian pope died on the 18th of the August of that year, and no man would have painted him later in a votive picture. Of these early years also were the *Baptism of Christ*, at the Capitol in Rome, long given to Giorgione—the Prado *Madonna with St. Ulfus and St. Bridget*—the finishing of the portrait said to be of Ariosto, painted in 1505-8 and of the *Concert* (1506-8) at the Pitti, begun by Giorgione—the Munich *Vanitas* (1509), and one of the very earliest, the *Christ between St. Andrew and St. Catherine* at the Church of S. Marcuola.

The *Concert* and the *Ariosto* are both amongst the incomplete works left by Giorgione which Titian finished.

The year 1510, then, that brought the plague to Venice and took Giorgione, thrust Titian forward into the leading position amongst the artists of Venice, and on his return from his year in and about Padua in 1516, when he took up the mantle of his dead friend as he finished his uncompleted pictures, he also entered the realm of the idyll with his superb, silvery *Three Ages*, now at Bridgewater House, and the world-famous so-called *Sacred and Profane Love* at the Borghese in Rome. At once Titian's pagan

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spirit, like Giorgione's, finds itself freed, and takes wings. Whether twenty-three or thirty-five, he now pays homage only to Giorgione, but there is already even more of Titian than Giorgione. But his draughtsmanship is still careful; and he has not yet found the free Titianesque style. Both are works of rare beauty of design and colour, with the thrill of the open air and of life breathing through them. On these idylls he based his coming *poesie*, whereby he was to give supreme utterance to the music that was in him. Here are youth and life, joy in the splendour of the earth and in its romance. The *Sacred and Profane Love* has caused much ink-spilling to "explain it." Crowe and Cavalcaselle called it *Artless and Sated Love*!—weaving much elaborate theory round the pretty business; but the Austrian Wickhoff probably came nearer to Titian's motive when he suggested it as an illustration of the incident of *Venus and Medea* from the "Argonautica" of Valerius Flaccus, wherein Medea, smitten with love for Jason, her father's enemy, vainly struggles against herself and is overcome by the urging of Venus, disguised as Circe, who pleads with her to join her lover in the wood near by. But whether so or not, a work of art must be judged by what it creates, not by a "book of the words," and though Titian fobble as illustrator, straining his art beyond its limits, he achieves success in the presentation of the fascination of womanhood moved by the loves in an ardent setting of landscape attune with the loves. Giorgione and Titian were moved by the splendour of beautiful flesh in contrast with draperies and in pleasant landscapes. In the nude Venus of this *Sacred and Profane Love*, Titian gives us at a stroke the most beautiful painting of woman throughout the whole

XII

TITIAN

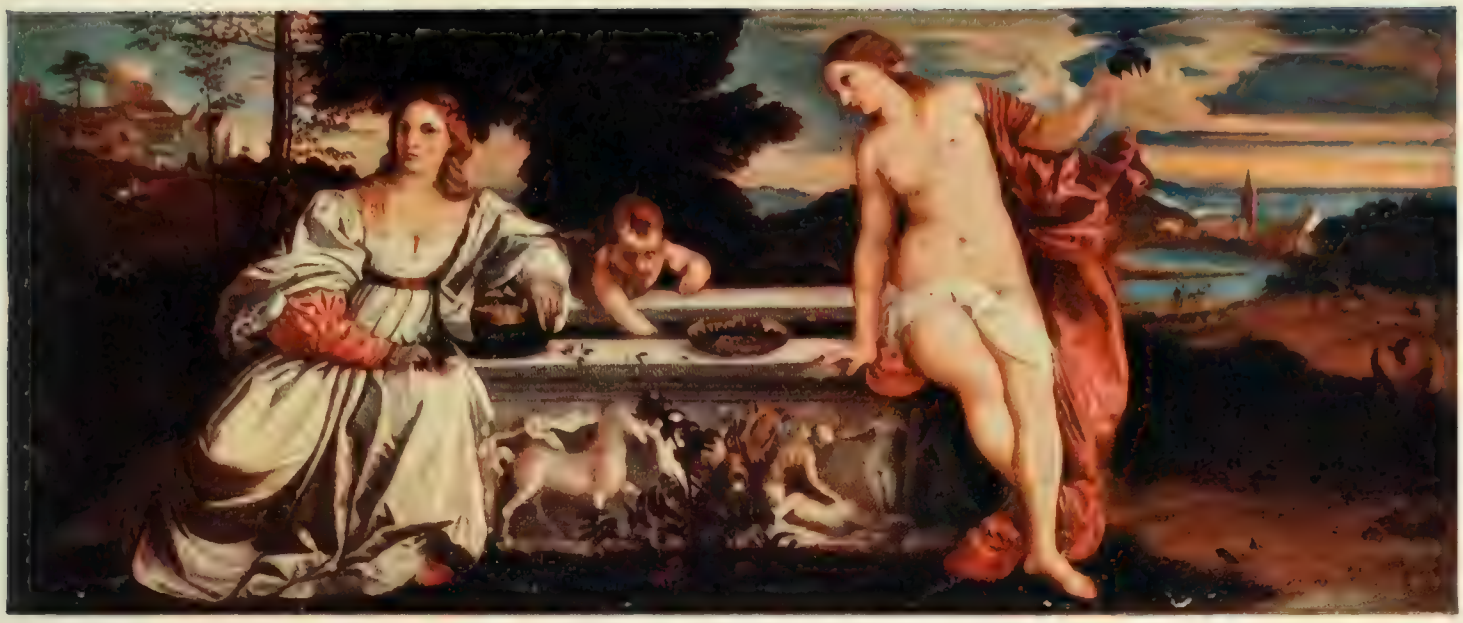
"VENUS AND MEDEA"

or, the so-called

"SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE"

(Borghese Palace, Rome)

This most beautiful work of Titian's is one belonging to his early days. It was probably commissioned in 1512 by the Chancellor of Venice, and we find that it was in the possession of Cardinal Scipione Borghese at the beginning of the seventeenth century.



XIII

TITIAN

1489?–1576

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"THE HOLY FAMILY"

(National Gallery)

Painted in oil on canvas. **3** ft. 5½ in. h. × 4 ft. 8 in. w. (1·05 × 1·42).



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Italian achievement. The whole "classical" science and inquisitiveness of Florence never approached it.

To about this time belong the *St. Mark enthroned with four Saints*, at S. Maria della Salute; the *Herodias with the head of St. John the Baptist*, of the Doria Gallery; the *Madonna with St. Anthony Abbot* at the Uffizi; the Dresden *Madonna with four Saints*; the poetic *Noli me tangere* or the *Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection* in an exquisite landscape, and the *Holy Family with Shepherd* (1512-13), both at the National Gallery in London. The rich and sumptuous colour of the *Holy Family* hints at the coming splendour of Titian's genius for colour, and strikes a firmer note. And here it is well to consider the revelation of colour that Titian gave to the world. The carelessness of draughtsmanship in this rudely hued design must strike everybody—the clumsy head of Joseph has set many pens running the ink of condemnation. But there are more important significances than these. First of all, the religious atmosphere cannot be said to be fervent. Titian is concerned with the realities alone; with the dramatic situation. But there was a far more significant quality setting into his work which meant much. It has a beginning in this *Holy Family*—in the *Tribute Money* (1514) at Dresden, in the portrait of the so-called *Alessandro de' Medici* (1515) at Hampton Court; it is as pronounced in the far-famed *Flora* of the same year, now at the Uffizi. There is obvious increase of skill that creates an increase of the general impression of the sensed idea in the beholder of his art. Thereafter closely follow the popular *Madonna of the Cherries*, at Vienna; and the *Madonna and three Saints* at the Louvre.

In that lies the whole secret of the revelation of

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Venetian art, of its advance as painting upon the art of Florence; so we should do well here to reflect upon it. Giorgione uttered its revelation to the world; Titian increased and elaborated it. Velasquez was to take up the revelation where Titian left it—and though he was not granted the Venetian largeness of instrumentation or gamut of colour, nor its splendour, he was to see with more subtle vision the values of tone. Let us try to set it in terms of words. Old Vasari, for all his limitations, had some insight into it, though he detested Venice and all that Venice created. "His craftsmanship," runs Vasari's gossip-pen of Titian, "in his later pieces is very different from that of his youth. The first works, be it remembered, are carried out with incredible delicacy and pains, so that they can be looked at both at close quarters and from afar. These last ones are done with broad, coarse strokes and blots of colour, in such wise that they cannot be appreciated near at hand, but from afar look perfect . . . and this method of execution is judicious, beautiful, astounding, because it makes the pictures seem living."

Precisely! Except that Vasari omits to realise one essential fact. No work "can be looked at both at close quarters and from afar." The focus of a painting must be one or the other; and what is right for the one must perish in the other. The Venetians discovered the value of that fact. And Titian, becoming more and more alive to it, early rejected the value of line for the value of mass; for he was wholly concerned with colour. He early realised that the Tuscan sense of line and the foundation of the Tuscan art upon its sculpturesque sense would not yield colour its full utterance. The Florentine

XIV

TITIAN

"FLORA"

(Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

Painted somewhere about 1515; it was engraved by Sandrart.



OF PAINTING

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was not only sculptor as well as painter, often as not, but founded his art of painting on that of sculpture. To him form was the essential in art ; he created arrangement by harmony of lines, employing his colour as an aid. But the Venetians, after the first effort of Padua to found art on sculpture, having the colour sense much more developed than had the Tuscans, soon reached a stage when the limitations of line and form baulked their full utterance of colour. They thrust colour as far as it would go, subject to line. Then Giorgione was granted to them. At once the Venetians, feeling life in terms of colour and of light, eagerly essayed to utter colour, employing form as an aid to make it articulate. The Florentines baulked their full utterance by intellectuality, by science. They won thereby, 'tis true, to wondrous song in the use of line and form. But the Venetians uttered their music as the birds sing, giving forth full song of all they felt in the presence of life, uttering their senses in pure colour-harmonies. By consequence their art as a whole coheres, its unity is compelling—figures and landscapes, light and darkness, mood and rhythm are all one. They are independent of all other conflicting elements.

So Titian, in this his transition stage, rapidly sets mere draftsmanship in its second place, and compels colour to yield him a deeper music. His form he builds up by massing. Like Giorgione he becomes an impressionist—as Velasquez in Spain after them. At first he trips. His ugly drawing of Joseph's head in the *Holy Family* sounds him a warning note. He often thus tripped to slovenly drawing. But he was master of drawing, and henceforth depended on his skill to see him through whilst he con-

centrated all his strength on mass, and colour, and atmosphere. When he paints a portrait, he sees his sitter in masses; and concentrates on creating character, and uttering it in terms of colour attune to that character. He catches the air of the man; sees through his ugliness or defects—his other qualities. Titian had such an astounding memory for form and colour that he would paint a portrait without the sitter, if necessary. Indeed, he took a delight in building up the presentment of a sitter from an inferior painting or medallion if he could find out the impression of the sitter's colour and character—but these were freakish moods. He trained his memory, however, to hold a scene so that he could paint its impression as glorified in the process of passing through his hand's skill and his eye's wizardry. But we must sometimes allow for courtly flattery in Titian, he had the gift of restoring the beauty of youth to a middle-aged duchess in startling fashion. We must take a beautiful Gonzaga or Este at times with a little salt. Titian could rid a woman of the years.

Titian made few sketches. He drew little before working on the canvas. In true service to the instinct of the Venetian genius for colour, he set to work straight upon the canvas, without studies or calculation, and painted direct what his imagination with such consummate tact led his hand's skill to do. He set all his will to create the mood or impression desired by means of colour and light and mass.

Such then was Titian, his early manhood flown, and now arrived at mid career, increasing in power, and feeling his way frankly towards the truth, when in 1516 he was called away to the court of Alfonso I. of the

house of Este, Duke of Ferrara, for whom he painted the famed *Worship of Venus* and the splendid *Bacchanal* (1518), both now at the Prado; and of about the same years was the *Little Tambourine-player* at Vienna. At the same time he began his great *Assumption* (the *Assunta*)—1516 to 1518—for the church of S. Maria de' Frari in Venice, which he finished in 1518—now in the Academy at Venice.

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When Titian arrived at the Court, Ariosto was there, and had just published his "Orlando Furioso." The *Worship of Venus* was the beginning of what Titian himself called his *poesie* or poems of life, idylls set about some classic tradition, the myth used as a motive only for the mood of his poem. He had led the way to it with his Giorgionesque idylls, *Three Ages* and *Sacred and Profane Love*. He was about to create his greatest masterpiece in this realm of his art. The *Assumption* was the beginning of his great altarpieces which he was about to create for awhile in considerable numbers. Titian rarely succeeded in creating great religious pictures that rouse in us the sense of spiritual significance. He lacked something, probably was too profound a pagan. Yet he it was who rid the altarpiece of its old convention and set up a tradition of spacious dignity. We have seen how he humanised its interest into the "Holy Conversation" pieces. By his great *Assumption* he set the vogue for an altarpiece that gave his powers full scope to express light and the glory of colour and the aerial depth of the luminous heavens. There is something splendid in the beautiful Madonna received into glory as she ascends on clouds held up by babes—a sense of upward-lifting to the firmament, to whom is given even more impulse by the

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solid darkness of the earthbound figures below. Yet, as in most of Titian's ambitious altarpieces—and he painted several during this period of his art, ending in his *St. Peter Martyr* of 1530—that the fire destroyed—we stand untouched before them by any mighty spiritual emotion. Titian was himself untouched by such things—he was solely concerned with the dramatic rendering seen by a pagan standing without the inner sanctuary but allowed to gaze upon it. We feel the same thing even with the *Tribute Money*. Titian is concerned with the mere human drama—the searching look of the Christ at the baffled Pharisee, the calm dignity of the Christ as against the base cunning of the other who finds his evil design thwarted by the Christ's immortal repartee: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," when the Pharisee had hoped to lure the Christ into seditious phrase. Broadly as this picture is designed, it is interesting also in that Titian finished it in every detail without losing its breadth, in order to prove to his fellow artists in Venice that he could, when he so desired it, rival Dürer in detail.

So new was the treatment of the great *Assumption* altarpiece, that the good Franciscan friars of Santa Maria de' Frari were at first bewildered as to its acceptance—it was strange to all accepted conventions—it was heroic, dramatic, powerful, vital. But the public made no such hesitations.

Shortly after the death of Alfonso of Ferrara's duchess, the greatly slandered Lucrezia Borgia, Titian took to him the finished *Bacchanal*.

A couple of years after he finished his famous *Assumption*, his position in the world of art was almost supreme

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—for Raphael died in 1520, Leonardo da Vinci had died the year before (1519), and Giovanni Bellini in 1516, the year that Titian had gone to Ferrara.

To this period must belong the famous *Alfonso I. of Ferrara and Laura Dianti* of the Louvre, sometimes called *Titian's Mistress after the Life*. It is neither, but more probably Alfonso's son, the gracious *Ercole II. of Ferrara*. Titian probably painted about this time the *Venus rising from the Sea*, at Bridgewater House.

We have seen that rival princes were now vying with each other to possess works by Titian. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, had given Titian an introduction to his nephew, Federigo Gonzaga II., Duke of Mantua. Federigo Gonzaga was the son of the famed Isabella d'Este Gonzaga. Thenceforth was spread a wide connection with princely houses, and it became a feverish desire amongst princes to employ Titian or to purchase a painting by him.

So to Mantua in 1523 went Titian and painted for the Duke Federigo Gonzaga the superb masterpiece of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, one of the paintings of the world, which is now amongst the chief glories of the National Gallery in London. Here we have Titian free of all shackles of the religious intention, free therefore to utter with full music of glowing golden colour the joy of the earth, the blitheness of life, one of those *poesie* which were his chief means of expression. The new paganism is in his blood. Ariadne, deserted by Theseus, the white sails of whose departing ship are seen beyond, is surprised by Bacchus and his boisterous train returning from sacrifice, who, becoming passionately enamoured of the princess at vision of her, leaps from his chariot towards her. The

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classic motive gives Titian the peg upon which to hang his harp. The splendour of its colour, the rhythm of its astounding action and movement, the spontaneous unerringness of its arrangement, the superb employment of its glowing landscape, create in the senses through colour and form a majestic music as of a mighty orchestra blithely uttering the gaiety of life.

In 1523 Gritti was made Doge, and Titian painted his superb portrait of him.

Titian has found himself. The whole gamut of his splendid art is under his hand's skill for the using. Two years afterwards, in 1525, he painted one of his most sublime masterpieces in the domain of religion, *The Entombment*, now at the Louvre, which was one of Charles I.'s nine Titians that, at the ill-fated monarch's death on the scaffold, were sold by Cromwell with the rest of his glorious collection.

In the November of this year of 1525, Titian, in his forty-eighth or thirty-sixth year, married Cecilia, the daughter of a barber of Cadore. He had lived with her some little while, and she had borne him two sons, Pomponio and Orazio. But she, in this year, becoming seriously ill, Titian, in order to make his children legitimate, married her. Cecilia recovered from her illness, and lived to bear him two girls—one died, the other, Lavinia, was to be immortalised by Titian's art in several paintings.

The year 1526 saw Titian finish the painting of the *Pesaro Madonna* for the Frari Church at Venice, where it hangs to this day. We have seen a member of the illustrious Venetian house of Pesaro, one Jacopo Pesaro, the bishop, already commission the young Titian to paint

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a picture commemorating his victory over the Turks at Santa Maura, in that large work at Antwerp which once belonged to Charles I. of England. Jacopo Pesaro seems to have fought that battle for the rest of his life, for in 1519 he ordered, and in 1526 was painted for him by Titian, the famous great altarpiece known as *The Madonna of the House of Pesaro* for the Frari at Venice. Here Titian still further pronounces his departure from the old conventions of the altarpiece. The stately dignity given to the altarpiece by the upward lift of the two great pillars, and the suggestion of height by the cloud above, bearing its angel-babes with the cross, and throwing down a shadow on the pillars, together with the largeness produced by the diagonal sweep of the figures from the enthroned Madonna and Child to the right, St. Peter at her feet, and the worthy bishop Pesaro kneeling at the bottom of the steps on the left, are all fine qualities of majesty. But intensely spiritual it certainly is not. The bishop cannot forget that victory over the Turks (twenty-three years ago he had glorified his battle on canvas), and the stately canvas states the glory of the achievement with rare dignity and with sumptuous splendour of colour. It is a triumphant hymn to the glory of Venice—though it is not the standard of Venice laurel-crowned but the standard of the Borgias crowned with olive that floats above this warrior priest, who could not forget his victory over the Turks!

The *Death of Peter Martyr*, finished in 1530, brings to an end this series of great altarpieces in his fortieth or fifty-third year. It was painted for the church of San Giovanni e Paolo, where it hung for three hundred years until destroyed by fire in 1867—fortunately several good

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copies of it exist to hint at its departed glories and remarkable originality, and to prove Titian's astounding dramatic powers, his power of stating dignity and grandeur, and his unerring gift of arrangement that is devoid of all formality and rule of thumb or measure by line and plummet.

In this same year of 1530 Cecilia, Titian's wife, died, after five years of wedded life, and her death smote the man with heavy sorrow. He moved his home the following year to the other side of the city to the part called the Biri Grande, upon the open shore. At first renting the upper portion of the house he took more rooms as he increased in wealth, until he owned the whole place and garden to the lagoon. To him he called his sister Osra from Cadore to keep house for him and care for his little ones.

Three years after the last of these his great altar-pieces proper, in 1533, Titian painted the fascinating *Madonna and Child with St. Catherine and the Child S. John the Baptist* in a landscape, sometimes called *A Holy Family*, now in London. This was one of those charming religious idylls that he created in which the Madonna and Child take the place of classic figures in a landscape. It is in fact the *poesie* applied to religion. And these religious idylls are amongst the most exquisite of his works, taking rank with his idylls and poesie, giving him scope for the full music of his art. It is true that they are not marked by the conventional spiritual feeling of the ordinary religious picture—its place is taken by a fragrant human charm that exhales from the Madonna and her surroundings as part of the tender drama of life. Perhaps thereby more deeply religious

than the solemn religiosities—as a gentle, humane act is nearer to the teaching of the Christ than the recital of all the litanies. This religious idyll in particular is a perfect poem of life. The *Madonna with the Rabbit* at the Louvre is of the same time.

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After the death of his wife came another marked change over the art of Titian. There had come to Venice in 1527, three years before Cecilia died, the poet Aretino, a compelling fellow of a man, infamous of life, the type of the Renaissance on its baser side, who read liberty as license and the book of life as the coarser passions; gifted, loving the arts, adventurous and daring by temperament, and reckless of act, this brilliant man won into Titian's friendship, and for a quarter of a century they were inseparables.

Aretino, by adulation and an aggressive type of sycophancy, by scurrilous use of libel and calculated blackmail, lived a life of luxury in Venice, courted by princes, popes, and cardinals. Witty, gay, shameless, and open-handed, loving art and music, he appealed to the artistic side of Titian and was a valuable ally towards promotion. But Titian was ever too clean of taste to descend to the vulgarities—and he never sullied his art thereby as did Rubens and others.

Two years after the coming of Aretino—the year before Cecilia died—there also came to Venice the Florentine sculptor Sansovino, appointed architect to San Marco. The three men were soon close friends, indeed were known as "the Triumvirate." Sansovino was as frankly loose of life as Aretino. And though Titian is said to have been saved by innate fastidiousness from

sharing in their licentiousness of living, it must be taken with a certain grain of incredulity. At any rate, whether so or not, Titian's great altarpieces and the *poesie* give place to the great nude schemes and splendid portraiture. Too much has been made of his desertion of altarpieces—as a matter of fact he painted religious pictures to the last. However, he was soon at work again upon portraiture.

Aretino, whatever his vices—and he looks an evil dog in Titian's portrait of him—pushed the interests of his friend; in 1533 Titian was brought into the view of the great Hapsburg Emperor, Charles v., by whom, the year after, he was made a Knight of the Golden Spur.

It is perhaps well to touch on Titian's ugly repute for greed of gold; there is no question that he was avaricious to an ugly degree—he had ever a keen eye to the main chance, from the days of his confident youth when he harassed his aged master Bellini by trying to step into his shoes with that pompous appeal to the signory of Venice in which he desires "fame rather than profit," to the day the plague took him. At the same time they who condemn him would do well to reflect that his expenses were very great—and his earnings, though large, were paid most irregularly. And avarice must have been shown rather in his business dealings than in his way of living, for it is common history that his house was ordered in a luxurious and sumptuous manner, and that he lavished unstinted hospitality upon his large circle of friends. He was, besides, afflicted with the gnawing curse of a shiftless, extravagant son—the elder lad, Pomponio, fretted his father's life with unending care and anxiety. And it is also to his credit on the side of generosity that he

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was a ready helper to the money needs of his town Cadore.

The Emperor tried hard to lure Titian to Spain, but he only proved thereby that the painter was a skilled courtier in the art of writing the evasive letter of excuse.

From Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, Titian had gone to his nephew Federigo Gonzaga II., Duke of Mantua, son of the famed Isabella d'Este. From 1532 to 1538 he came into friendly relations with Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and nephew of the aggressive Pope Julius II., for whom Michelangelo had striven to create his great tomb. The Pope's military ambitions and unbridled temper were exaggerated in the nephew. Francesco della Rovere came to the Dukedom of Urbino through his mother, Giovanna da Montefeltro. He lived a life of everlasting strife, plunged in an eternal warfare in which he won and rewon and lost and relost his duchy. With his own violent hand he had in youth killed in the streets of Ravenna the handsome, sinister Cardinal Alidosi, bringing the curses of his own uncle, Julius II., upon him, and giving the succeeding Pope Leo X., a Medici, the best excuse for seizing his duchy and giving it to one of his own house. He ended his career by being poisoned, it is said, by the infamous son of Pope Paul III., Pier Luigi Farnese.

Francesco's duchess was Eleonora Gonzaga, sister to Titian's friend, the Duke of Mantua, therefore daughter of Isabella d'Este. It was through her, most likely, that Titian came into the Duke of Urbino's circle. For the house of Urbino Titian painted some of the finest works of this period—the *Venus of Urbino* at the Tribuna, the

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Girl in a Fur Cloak at Vienna, and the truculent *Duke of Urbino* and the *Duchess of Urbino* (both of about 1547) at the Uffizi. The Duke was to fall to poison the following year.

Now the duchess, Eleonora Gonzaga, was a woman of middle age, as shown in her portrait at the Uffizi. But it is clear that, whether as a subtle form of flattery, or at her desire to recall her beautiful youth by means of some portrait of an earlier day by some lesser artist, Titian painted several portraits of her, aided by earlier designs, in which he recalls her youth in wondrous fashion. And that the nude lady who has hidden herself behind the Fur Cloak, that the famed *La Bella*, are she, there can be no doubt. The nude *Venus of Urbino* is, again, the fair Eleonora Gonzaga, lying on a bed after her bath whilst her maids in the room beyond search the coffer for her raiment. It once hung in the duke's picture gallery—it is now at the Uffizi.

It was in 1536 that Federigo Gonzaga, the duchess's brother, ordered the *Twelve Cæsars* to be painted by Titian for his castle at Mantua, all half-lengths, eleven by Titian and the twelfth by Giulio Romano—now all of them lost. They were all brought to England by Daniel Nys for Charles I. on the sale of the Mantua collection, and were sold to Spain, where they perished by fire.

Amongst the many princely patrons were the two Dukes of Urbino, father and son, whose portraits he painted, the truculent little *Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino*, his wife, *Eleanora Gonza, Duchess of Urbino*, both painted in 1537, of which we have spoken, and now at the Uffizi, and his son, *Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino*, who is supposed to be the personage at the Pitti

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long called "The Duke of Norfolk," one of Titian's great portraits. To 1533 belongs the *Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici in Hungarian Dress* at the Pitti. He painted the *Isabella d'Este* (now at Vienna) about 1534-35, basing the youthful portrait on some early one—for Isabella d'Este Gonzaga was now a woman of sixty.

Here, in his portraiture, we see Titian, like all great artists, yielding himself to the instinct of genius, and, setting aside his wide and glowing gamut of colour, concentrating his whole strength upon creating the character of the man before him; and with consummate power and severe restraint, as in his so-called *Duke of Norfolk*, both as to colour and detail, he records the young manhood and aristocratic quality of the man. It is sometimes known as *The Young Englishman*—the fair hair and blue eyes may have been the reason. It was for Duke Guidobaldo that Titian painted the *Venus of Urbino*, now at the Uffizi.

It was in this year of 1537 that the Council of Ten in Venice roused themselves to the fact that their "broker" had done nothing since he had received the broker's patent in 1516 that gave him all the honours and rewards of his office, which was that of State Painter. The "canvas of the battle" remained a hazy promise, and its place in the Hall of Grand Council an emptiness. They had waited patiently for twenty-one years. The Ten knew their man. They demanded that the unearned salary should be refunded. The autumn saw Titian hard at work on his large design of a land fight. It is true that he forgot the original battle, painting instead the *Battle of Cadore*; but the picture created such enthusiasm that small fault was found. It unfortunately perished

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with many other masterpieces in the fire of the Doge's Palace in 1577, forty years afterwards, the year after Titian's death.

In 1538 he painted the well-known portrait-group known as the *Allegory of Alfonzo d'Avalos*, of the Louvre. To the year 1539 belongs his famed *La Bella* of the Pitti Palace, unmistakably Eleonora Gonzaga, and to the same year the portrait of *Francis I.*, now at the Louvre, which Titian painted from the likeness on a medal, he never having seen the French king.

Amongst Titian's many patrons who eagerly sought a work from his hands were the Schools (Scuole)—Societies for Mutual Aid, as we should call them. It was one of these societies, the Scuola della Carità, at whose desire the artist, in 1540, painted for their hall or guild-house the rich and glowing design of his great and famous *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, now at the Venice Academy. The Academy was originally the house of this Scuola, and the picture is said to hang in its original place. The Virgin is supposed to have been painted from Titian's thirteen-year-old Lavinia.

In 1542 Titian painted the well-known child-portrait, now at Berlin, *The Daughter of Roberto Strozzi*, once in the splendid palace of that family in Florence. He was now engaged upon the decorations of the Salute. By 1540, Titian's fiftieth or sixty-third year, the demand for the Venetian's work seems to have become somewhat less urgent. Both the Duke of Ferrara and the Duke of Urbino were dead. The facile Pordenone was seriously assailing Titian's position. The State was engaged in other affairs. Again the poet Aretino, who was an eager worker on his friend's behalf, came to his aid, and looking

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beyond the borders of Venice, set to work to interest the princely houses of the Medici in Florence and the Farnese in Rome. The pope, Paul III., was of the Farnese—who forthwith sought to tempt Titian to Rome with the offer of the office of Piombatore, Keeper of the Papal Seal, which Titian, to his eternal honour, refused, since his old fellow-student Sebastiano Luciani (Sebastiano del Piombo) held it. However, having in 1543 painted the large *Ecce Homo!* now at Vienna, in great part the work of assistants, though it is interesting to see Aretino the model for Pontius Pilate; having painted *The Annunciation*, now in Cremona Cathedral, and his fine *Christ with the Pilgrims at Emmaus*, now at the Louvre, in its solemn richness of colour-harmony and deep seriousness; and having completed the great portrait of the arrogant *Aretino* for the Grand Duke Cosimo of Tuscany, which that conceited poetaster blamed for its lack of magnificence, the superb portrait now at the Pitti, at last, in the autumn of 1545, he turned his eyes from his home, within sight of the distant mountains of his own country, and made the journey to Rome in 1545, entering Rome in his fifty-fifth or sixty-eighth year for the first time, where he was received with great honour, being lodged in the Belvedere —Vasari being appointed by the Cardinal Farnese to be his guide the while he stayed his eight months thereat; Sebastiano del Piombo also turning guide to his old friend. The aged Michelangelo paid him a visit, bursting into terms of generous praise in the presence of Titian's work. The *Danaë*, said to be that now at Naples, on which the Venetian seems to have started early, as well as the portrait of *Pope Paul III.*, of the ape-like countenance, with his two grandsons, Cardinal Alessandro and Duke

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Ottavio Farnese, also now at Naples, and two portraits of himself would seem to be of this time.

The meeting of the two giants must have been intensely interesting to both. Titian was greatly interested in the Florentine achievement, though he decided most happily that it was wholly alien to his own art. We know how the art of each giant of his own school impressed the other—Titian's converse with the Spanish envoy Vargas, in which he confessed that he carefully avoided the styles of Angelo and Raphael as his ambition was a higher distinction than that of becoming a clever imitator—Michelangelo's remark to Vasari that though the colour and handling of the *Danaë* pleased him greatly, it was a pity that people in Venice did not begin by learning to draw well—that if Titian had had as much knowledge of drawing as he had natural gifts, he would have reached to the highest rank! Here we have the essential difference of the vision of Florence and Venice in a phrase.

From Rome Titian turned homewards, going north by way of Florence, where he tarried awhile; but he did not receive a hearty welcome from Duke Cosimo de' Medici, who hated his companion Aretino. In 1546, on his return to Venice, Titian painted the fine *St. John the Baptist in the Desert*, now at the Academy there. It was soon after his return from Rome that Titian painted the well-known nude Venuses, the *Venus and Cupid* at the Uffizi, and the *Venus listening to Music* at the Prado, much of which is the work of assistants.

The *Venus and Cupid* is pendant at the Uffizi to that other nude *Venus of Urbino*—both recline on beds; the one has the face of La Bella, obviously Eleonora Gon-

zaga ; the other, with a dog at her feet, and Cupid at her head, where she lies before a distant landscape, a bird upon the sill or parapet beside her, was painted from his daughter Lavinia.

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Suddenly came the news, travelling to Venice, that his old fellow-student Sebastiano del Piombo was dead (1547). Titian was thereupon free to accept the office of the Keeper of the Papal Seal, free to settle in Rome, but fate had ordered his destiny along far other paths. In 1548 Titian was commanded to the court of the Emperor Charles v. at Augsburg ; and the "old man of Cadore," turning his back on Rome, Pope, and the Piombo, crossed the Alps and appeared before the Emperor.

With the Emperor, Titian spent—odd to say—eight months, painting court portraits, of which his famous *Equestrian Portrait of the Emperor, Charles V., at the Battle of Mühlberg*, now at the Prado in Madrid, was one of his chief masterpieces. A close friendship sprang up between the ageing painter and the Emperor, which endured until death. He painted for the Emperor that portrait of his Empress Isabella, long since dead—another of his portraits not made from the sitter, and now at the Prado.

In painting his famous equestrian figure of Charles v., Titian created one of his greatest masterpieces in portraiture. The fire that singed much of this canvas, and blotted out some of the priceless treasure of the Prado, spared enough of this great work to enable us to realise its superb qualities. The Emperor, pale-faced and ugly as the Hapsburg blood destines the Cæsars to be, already shows signs of the gnawing hand of disease.

Titian painted *Charles V.* again, world-weary and

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bored, as he sits in a chair. He painted also the fat and shallow-headed *Elector John Frederick of Saxony*, now at Vienna—a simple, honest-looking man.

Titian had not been long back in Venice—his *Second Portrait of Aretino*, for long in the Chigi Palace and now in America, is of this date—when he was called to Milan by Prince Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor, and later to be Philip II. of Spain—here he painted several portraits.

The November of the year 1550 saw Titian called a second time to the court of the Emperor at Augsburg, where he painted three portraits of *Prince Philip*, afterwards Philip II. of Spain, on whom all the melancholy Emperor's hopes were fixed. The Emperor, barely fifty, but an old man, broken by disease and political distress, had entered into a stage of unrelieved gloom. In painting the Prince, Titian achieved superb character-drawing, and his vital skill of portraiture is fully revealed. This unattractive young Prince of twenty-four had all the defects of his race in exaggeration—with the air of distinction of the Hapsburgs, he lacked the majesty, whilst he increased the haughtiness, the consequential reserve and the incapacity for sympathy that mark shallow minds. Vicious as he was religious, he stands in history an unlovable personality. Titian's *Prince Philip of Austria in Armour* at the Prado is one of his great achievements. The *Philip in Court Dress* at Naples, and the *Philip II.* at the Pitti are of this period.

It was during this stay, which did not end until the May of the following year (1551) that the Emperor somewhat shocked the stiff Spanish proprieties by his familiar

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friendship with the old painter. It is probable that the communion of the haughty and bigoted Charles with the gentle Titian led to the idea of the great painting of *The Last Judgment*, as Titian himself called it, or *La Gloria*, as it is now known, which Titian afterwards wrought for his imperial patron, in which the emperor is seen in his shroud kneeling in homage to the Christ—his wife and his son Philip behind him. The employment of the landscape at the foot of the picture gives the vision a wonderful uplifting. Charles v. loved this canvas, kept it by him to the end of his days, taking it with him even when at last he retired into a monastery.

The Emperor Charles was grimly and severely pietistic—a hot ally of the Inquisition—and he probably disturbed Titian's easy-going attitude towards eternity. The Council of Trent had opened in 1545, and for eighteen years its doctrines were firing feverish discussion throughout all Europe. There are those who see in Titian's religious paintings henceforth the flight of his early serenity and the coming of passion and deeper insight. There are those who feel even in his secular subjects something now of spiritual perturbation. That is as it may be. As a matter of fact, there is much loss of delicate sentiment and an increased coarseness of vision, the more particularly in his nudes, which it is not easy to set down to spiritual exaltation. To me at least he seems to pass from the sensuous to the sensual; and by all accounts, the pious Philip II. would have had no quarrel with the business. How such revelation betokens a distressful state of mind or mood of spiritual unrest, or uncertainty, or doubt, it passeth the plain man to say. But we see what we go forth to see.

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In the May of 1551 Titian returned home to Venice to his palatial home in the Biri Grande. There he wrought henceforth many masterpieces which the house of Hapsburg, the Emperor-Father and his son Philip, ordered from him—sending the works to them from Venice. He had now an unrivalled position in Venice—the State, the churches, the great families vied for his work; and there his last twenty-five years were spent industriously carrying out his many orders. But death began to mow amongst his friends and kin. During the year of his second visit to Hapsburg his beloved sister Osra had died, and his daughter Lavinia married in 1555. He had the good fortune to be blessed in his second son Orazio, who, unlike the good-for-nothing Pomponio, was devoted to him, dividing his life between care of his father and his studies in alchemy. Lavinia her father had painted in young womanhood, upholding a dish of fruit, the *Lavinia in Girlhood*, or *Lavinia with a Dish of Fruit* (1549), now at Berlin; he painted her again in 1555, the *Lavinia as a Bride* at Dresden, in which she carries the Venetian bridal fan; and he painted her portrait again, the *Lavinia as Matron*, also now at Dresden. We have seen her face in one of the nude Venuses at the Uffizi. It looks out upon us here and there from his religious "conversations"; and he painted her portrait in early womanhood, about the period of the Lavinia holding up the salver of fruit, in the *Lavinia as Salome* at Madrid, only there she holds up the charger with John the Baptist's head upon it, though the position is much the same as in the *Lavinia in Girlhood*. Titian had painted Lavinia at fourteen on the steps of the great *Ecce Homo*, in which Aretino poses as Pontius Pilate.

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In 1554 he painted the famous *Venus and Adonis*, now at Madrid, a copy or replica of which is now in London. Other great nudes of about this time, amongst the superb achievements of his hands, are the *Diana and Actæon* (1559) and the *Diana and Calisto* (1559), both at Bridgewater House.

We know, from Titian's dunning Philip II. for the payment of his work later on in life, that the *Venere del Pardo*, or *Jupiter and Antiope*, now at the Louvre, was the work of these years. The *St. Margaret* at the Prado is also of this time. In the summer of 1554 he finished for Philip the *Danaë* of the Prado, and completed for Charles V. the *Trinity* or "*La Gloria*."

We know also by Titian's letter to Charles V. that he sent *La Gloria* (or the *Trinity* or *Last Judgment*, as Titian himself called it) to the Emperor in 1554, with a *Mater Dolorosa*, which, together with the *Ecce Homo*, were the paintings that Charles V. took with him when he retired into a monastery at Yuste. They were taken by Philip on his father's death.

We have also Titian's witness by letter that it was in the autumn of 1554 that the famed *Venus and Adonis* was painted, for he sent it to London to the newly mated king-consort of England—Philip of Spain having married England's Mary Tudor. Philip complained of its arriving in London in an injured state.

On the 21st of the October of 1556 died Aretino, as he had lived, meeting his violent forthright end in the midst of loud laughter as befitted his riotous career. He was sitting at table with his companions, well into the small hours towards cockcrow, when, throwing himself back in his chair in a burst of loud laughter at a lewd

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jest that had passed, he tumbled on to the polished floor and cracked his skull, being killed on the spot. He was used to call himself "the Divine Aretino,"—indeed, his self-assurance knew no bounds.

On the 25th of the September of 1558 died at Yuste the Imperial monk, the Cæsar Charles v. that had been, his dying eyes upon *La Gloria*. Philip, on the news of his father's death, retired awhile to the monastery of Groenendale, and sent orders to the Governor of Milan for the payment to Titian of all arrears of pensions and moneys due by Charles. Titian sent his beloved son, Orazio Vecellio, in the spring of 1559 to Milan to receive the moneys—who thereby came near to sudden death by treachery. Orazio accepted the eagerly proffered hospitality of the sculptor Leone Leoni, as foul a rogue as ever stepped the stage of the Italian Renaissance, who, gifted with genius, was the rival and mortal enemy to Benvenuto Cellini, and as base a scoundrel. This brilliant blackguard, Leone Leoni, had built himself a splendid palace. As Orazio was leaving Milan, on an early day of June, he was murderously set upon by his host and servants, and barely escaped with his life. Titian found Philip II. no eager avenger of the villany—for Leone Leoni was a great favourite with the Spanish king.

The year 1559 saw Titian despatch to Philip II. the *Diana and Calisto* and *Diana and Actæon*, now in the Bridgewater Gallery—those two far-famed *poesie*, so often copied and painted with consummate mastery and glow of colour. Here is none of the hesitation of old age—no cooling of the fire of life. It was the year in which he painted in friendly rivalry with the young Paolo Veronese, Schiavone, and others of the immortal

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school that he had created, the allegory of *Wisdom* on the ceiling of Sansovino's great library, in which he deliberately challenges Raphael, surpasses him in splendour and style, and breadth of conception and handling, if not in sublimity of concept.

It was in these years that Titian painted the majestic and grandiose portrait group of the *Cornaro Family* (1560), one of his mightiest works in portraiture, resonant and dignified, now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick, and once the property of Van Dyck.

He was also creating many of his *poesie*, besides the Bridgewater *Dianas* and the *Venus del Prado*, now at the Louvre, that he painted for Philip II.

Of the year 1561 are the portraits of *The Man with a Palm Branch* at Dresden, the *St. Dominic* at the Borghese, and the *Knight of Malta* at the Prado. And he is known to have painted a *Magdalene* and a *Venus with a Mirror*, both said to be at the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and a *Rape of Europa*.

The *Perseus and Andromeda* (1562)—of an unsatisfactory arrangement most unusual for Titian, the half containing the nude figure being very fine, the rest puerile—was found by Mr. Claude Phillips in the bathroom at Hertford House, and is now in the Wallace Collection thereat.

To this year of 1562 belongs the noble portrait in profile of *Titian* by himself, which has been an example of noble portrait-painting to the ages. The famous *St. Jerome* of the Brera at Milan is of this time, as is the *Annunciation* at the church of San Salvatore in Venice, and the *Adam and Eve* at the Prado. The portrait of *Jacopo da Strada* bears the date 1566.

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The year 1568 yielded the *Education of Cupid* at the Borghese, sometimes called the Three Graces. The *Religion succoured by Spain* (or *La Fé*) at the Prado is of about this period.

In 1570 died Sansovino, at a great age, leaving Titian the sole survivor of the "Triumvirate."

Titian now gave to the world his dramatic *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, to be seen at Munich, which even the wretched type of his Christ cannot rob of the sublime. There is here a marked dramatic feeling, as in the painting of the same subject in the years gone by. Titian is more concerned perhaps with the Christ, where aforetime he was more concerned with the incident as mere drama. There is certainly greater dignity; but the dramatic sense is if anything increased. More passion there certainly is, and the Christ is now the Son of God, receiving the insults of brutality with dignified sorrow. It is astounding drama, painted with majestic grip of light and shade.

Perhaps one of Titian's finest pieces of impressionism is the *Nymph and Shepherd* at Vienna, in which Titian is seen as a pure poet, but in which it is difficult to discover him at war with his spiritual inner man. In this great work he is at his height. Here Titian utters in supreme fashion the mood of twilight in a silvery harmony, embowered by the coming darkness that takes possession of the world; it thrills the senses like music. He has uttered the mystery of dusk in a haunting luminosity that reveals yet half holds the nude flesh of the figures bathed therein. It has been *blamed* for its sensuousness; had it failed to be sensuous its whole significance had been stillborn. It is held by the languorous emotion of lovers at

twilight—and rightly and properly so held. It is one of the most consummate poems uttered in the whole realm of art.

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Titian was now employing his most purely impressionistic style, which marks the works of his own hands from the many on which his pupils and assistants were employed. One of the most exquisite is the *Madonna and Child* of the Mond Collection in London. And as impressionistic and masterly as the famous canvas at Munich.

To glorify the great victory of Spain and Venice over the Turk off Lepanto on the 7th of October, 1571, Titian painted in 1573 the somewhat feeble *Philip II. offering to Heaven his son the Infant Don Ferdinand*, now at Madrid.

His last work was the *Pietà* (or *Entombment*), now at the Venice Academy, but left incomplete at his death, and finished by Palma Giovine with reverent care, who inscribed upon it the tribute: "What Titian left unfinished, Palma has with reverence completed, and dedicated the work to God."

Whether in his hundredth or his eighty-seventh year, Titian was now an old man, yet with marvellous power still. His daughter Lavinia was dead. His son Orazio alone remained to him. He had made a bargain with the Franciscans of the Frari that he should be buried there where his works bring honour to the church, and for payment he was to paint a *Pietà* for them. There seems to have been some haggling.

In the year 1575 Venice suffered a summer of heat that was a very plague in itself; but with it came the plague to the stagnant lagoons and to the crowded city lying thereby. The winter mitigated its ravages, but the

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following summer of 1576 saw it sweeping off the Venetians by the thousands—hundreds died in a day; before it passed into the winter again, a quarter of the people of Venice were blotted out.

Titian, in his hundredth year, wrought on amidst the surrounding gloom, unscathed, working upon the painting of that *Pietà* which he designed to be placed over his tomb. There are those that find in it a devotional feeling never before revealed by him—the sadness and the terror of the hour are seen to be reflected upon the canvas. It may be so. In his palace within its beautiful garden, with the distant mountains of his homeland before his eyes, the silence of a lonely old man's last days, bereft of all his old friends whom he had outlived, gathered about him; but Titian never gave a hint by word of mouth that he was suffering spiritual or mental unrest. The prospect of a lonely old age arouses more profound pity in those that look upon it, likely enough, than in those who suffer it; for the Designer of things has so designed it, mercifully enough.

It was on the 27th day of the month of August in 1576, his *Pietà* unfinished upon his easel, that, as the plague held the world about him, Death, whether in the form of plague or not, came stealthily creeping into Titian's palace and took him.

They laid his mortal remains in the church of the Frari, that knew his hand's skill so well, and they paid him honour in the doing, though against the sanitary laws during plagues. But even as they buried him to solemn ritual, the ruffians of the city broke into Titian's old home whilst the mourners were at his obsequies, and robbed him, pillaging the place.

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His beloved son, the devoted Orazio, followed his father to the grave soon thereafter, a victim also to the plague, leaving the no mean inheritance from Titian to his plaguing, dissolute son Pomponio, who flourished like the green bay-tree.

A paradox of a man this Titian, who paints sacred pictures like a pagan, who employs every artifice to evade the payment of his taxes, but flings his full purse to his steward when he hears that two cardinals are coming to visit him, with the large order, "all the world is coming to dine with me." Greedy of money that he might spend it with a lavish hand, a courteous and affable man, who made many friends, was generous in his approval of his fellow-artists, tactful, affectionate, equally at home at the most formal and ceremonious Court of his day or in the homely circle of his kin, a generous host, Titian knew a splendid career. Though 'tis known that Aretino and his boon companions lived the convivial life at his table, and often went under it, Titian seems to have known always when to turn his glass upside down and refuse intoxication. Upon his own inner thoughts and ideals he shut firm lips.

It is claimed for Titian that he was the greatest of the Venetians. This business of docketing artists with greatness is largely an affair of taste, of personal preference nearly always, of intellectual snobbery only too often. It is airily said that Titian was the greatest of colourists. That also lies within limits. The man of Venice, mated to the barber's daughter of Cadore, knew no such vast gamut of colour as was granted to the Cockney barber's fantastic son, whom we call Turner. Of the deep resonances of splendid colour Titian was a

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superb master; but through its vast range Turner winged the more eagle flight. Of the wide realm of colour revealed to his age, no man who ever employed it, mastered it with more astounding genius than Turner. Nor was Titian supreme amongst the Venetians. Giorgione, Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese were easily his equals. Giorgione was perhaps the more exquisite poet. But Titian lived long years to create so majestic an achievement, that by very vastness of his grandeur he stands out a giant. And he employed his great gifts with so consummate an instinct as to overwhelm our sensing in sheer homage for his large endeavour, and he remains one of the purest of painters in his artistry.

To speak of Titian's deep religious feeling or lack of it, far more to appraise his value as an artist as such, is to discover the cloven heel of the literary man who has not realised the function of art or its vital significance. To rank him simply by the *splendour* of his colour is to come almost as near to missing the significances. It is in his taking up the mantle of Giorgione, that revealed to him, from the day he put it on, the great artistic significance that it is the province of colour to be so employed as to create by the fitting use of it, the sensation or impression desired, in order that art may be created thereby, whereby he stands immortal. It was in his use of colour, so different from the Florentine use of it, that Titian thrust forward the art of painting, widened its empire, and helped to create impressionism.

To Titian was given the faculty to create the emotions of grandeur, of dignity, of pride of life and of the joy of life, of strength and of vital force.

Of Leonardo da Vinci's hauntingness and mystery

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Titian, until his later days, knew little; of Michelangelo's vast awe, and the mystery of fate and the tragedy of life, he never showed a sign, but of the splendour of life, of the joy of existence, he uttered the glory in a wider ranging art and a glowing gift of colour that pulses with life-blood and the human appeal of which these men knew no hint. Who, then, shall say that this one or that one is the *greater*? In what lies greatness? If it be the greatest act that sounds the note of profundity, of lofty aspirations, of penetrating insight—as I suspect—then Titian is not the greatest artist who has given utterance to the song of life. Yet even when he employs his hand's skill to state the vasty impressions, it were hard to find a greater. In his realm, then, he is one of the few greatest—it were idle to go further than that. If we take the mere composition of the *St. Peter Martyr*—and, alas! we have been robbed of the whole fulness of that achievement by its burning—what an astounding and colossal sense of tragedy is in its very arrangement of the high landscape, ominous, grand, and so marvellously attune to the tragic incident that happens beneath!

In portraiture, again, Titian is of the supreme utterance of the whole Italian genius; nay, who can look upon the art of Spanish Velasquez without realising what the great Spaniard owed to Titian's portraits of Charles v. and of Philip II. at the Prado? In landscape his gifts are the weapons of purest poetry. With what consummate tact and unerring instinct he employs it—awesome in the presence of tragedy, blithe and gay in his *poesie*—reposeful and intense in his sacred subjects—full of the glamour of passion in his paintings of passion—serene yet suggestive of the ardour of passion when lovers meet in the twilight.

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But to place Titian at the supreme head of Venetian art were impossible—with justice. He must share the bays. There stand side by side with him Giorgione, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and Correggio. He who would put him above Giorgione in lyrical subtlety, who would put him above Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese in colour faculty or in the gift of great decorative sense, or above Correggio in sense of light and shadow, or the painting of flesh or of the sense of values in colour, cannot appreciate the full significance of art.

The influence of Titian on the years to come was to be prodigious, and it must be allowed that the years found little in him to demoralise their art. Certain tricks which he shared with the whole Venetian School, such as the contrast of the dark brown flesh of a man with the fair flesh of women, he had that led imitators astray ; but his art contained no great pitfalls for the student. He let loose upon the painted canvas that flight of lusty joyous little infant cupids that were to be inherited by the Flemish and French painters.

No painter of all the ages more profoundly influenced the great art of the years that came after him than did Titian. Michelangelo and Raphael completed all that Florence and Umbria had to utter—they revealed the fulness that could be wrought out of the gamut of art as they knew it. They left nothing more to be said. But Titian increased the realm of art ; for he understood the real significance of painting far more thoroughly than they, for all their science, and for all his lack of science. From his studio, trained under his skill, emerged pupils who were to carry on the flame that Giorgione had lit, and Titian had guarded and blown into a blaze—Paris

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Bordone, Lanzani, and Andrea Meldolla (Schiavone) amongst others; but his example was to light the lamp of genius in far greater artists than these—in Palma Vecchio, in Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese.

Giorgione discovered the melody of colour to the world, Titian's name *is* colour—the pulsing blue of ultramarine heavens, the rich greys of clouds, the ripe green of grassy meads, the sumptuous reds and golds of handsome apparel, of broideries and brocades and silks and satins and damasks lit by glittering sheen of pulsing colour, white flesh of women, golden flesh of men. He is said to have caught the colours of the mountains from his home in Cadore, where the Tyrol and Venice meet; but it was rather the golden green and purple vistas about Venice that he dreamed into his canvases. He and his name trail the splendour of colour through the ages. He flung colour to the world, and dowered the genius of Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto with his spell, so that Venice rouses in our imagination her romance, to the melody of thrummed music, string of viol and lute, steeped in splendid pageantry of colour. Titian and his peers uttered in colour what no words could utter until English Shakespeare sang.

There in high Cadore stands Titian in bronze, bare-headed, palette in hand—in Cadore to which he paid his home-visit every year that he dwelt in Venice—and his face is set towards Venice, seventy miles away, towards Venice that meant three days' journey in his high romantic day—Venice in which he wrought his supreme career—Venice where his body lies buried in the church which he so greatly adorned, and in which he paid the price of his grave with his last unfinished masterpiece.

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His chief significance in art is that he realised the far greater value of light and shade, of the relation of colours to create the depth and atmosphere of illusion than all the elaborate science of line perspective and the like could yield to Florence. He pushed forward the realm of painting to utter the fulness of life thereby far beyond the achievement of all the Italy of his day, and prepared the way for Spain and Holland and the modern revelation.

Before glancing at the careers of the pupils that came from Titian's studios, it will be well to follow the art of his fellow-students at Giovanni Bellini's workshop.

CHAPTER XV

WHEREIN WE SEE A TOILING GENIUS COME INTO A FAT LIVING, AND THEREAFTER FALL INTO THE JOVIAL LIFE OF A WORLDLY FRIAR

WHEREIN WE SEE A TOILING GENIUS COME INTO A FAT LIVING

Amongst Giovanni Bellini's great pupils, fellow-student of Giorgione and Titian, was Sebastiano del Piombo, who was to have so different a life career and art career from theirs.

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

1485? – 1547

Sebastiano Luciani, or, as he was destined to be known to fame, Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, from his office to the Pope as Keeper of the Papal Seals, was born in Venice about 1485. He entered the workshop of Giovanni Bellini, flitted to that of Cima, who had been pupil to Alvise Vivarini, but who had come under Giovanni Bellini's thrall, and thence to sit at the feet of Giorgione. By each his early style was strongly influenced. And, as he was in youth, so became he during his art's career—the one Venetian of brilliant powers who was unable to develop the true Venetian genius, but was instead sensitive to every gust of style that blew into his studio. He, like Raphael, was an Eclectic—a born Borrower.

It was in 1512, as we saw, when Titian returned from Padua after the plague that had carried away Giorgione in 1510, that Sebastiano del Piombo was discovered to be flown to Rome, whither the richest man in

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all Italy, the great Roman banker, Agostino Chigi, had called him to paint frescoes in the Villa Farnesina. He came to a Rome that sang the glory of a young Umbrian, one Raphael, and that knew the overwhelming genius of Michelangelo. Sebastiano, with the habit of the Borrower, fell completely under the sway of the great Florentine, Michelangelo—became of the Michelangelo faction—and was soon wholly subordinate to him.

He kept for a while, 'tis true, much of the splendour of Venetian colour, and the sumptuous vision of his training; and he won to much of Michelangelo's strength of sculpturesque draughtsmanship and caught much of the grandeur of his design; but slowly the Venetian splendours left him—the richness departed from his colour, and a smoothness came over his handling that brought insipidity lurking in its train; but, at least, his sculpturesque qualities increased, if at the cost of his glowing colour-faculty.

We have Vasari's gossip for evidence that Michelangelo took the Venetian under his wing, and used him to gall the kibe of Raphael, helping him with his pictures thereto; and that when Raphael painted his *Transfiguration* for Cardinal de' Medici, Sebastiano painted a rival picture of the *Raising of Lazarus*, assisted by Michelangelo, which was displayed beside it.

Sebastiano wrought his work with great labour always. When the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici became Pope Clement VII., he granted the office of the Seals to Sebastiano, who became a friar and del Piombo; but being now secure of an income he fell to indolence and sloth of habit, living a jolly life, and rollickingly asking why he should labour when he had his fill.

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The National Gallery in London possesses his famed masterpiece—hailed as his supreme masterpiece, though much misused by repaintings—his *Resurrection of Lazarus*, that the taste of his day largely held to be greater than Raphael's *Transfiguration*, beside which it was publicly shown when it was finished in 1520; and though it scarcely merited its high honour, the work is impressive after its manner.

But it was as a great painter of portraits that Sebastiano stands forth in the achievement of his great day, a rival even to Raphael in that art. It is only of late years that the *Fornarina* at the Uffizi and the *Dorothea* at Berlin have been given back to Sebastiano, from their usurpation by Raphael. London possesses his *Portrait of a Lady as St. Agatha*, the fine work bearing his signature. Naples possesses his portrait of the *Pope*, *Clement VII.*

At Berlin is a *Pietà* by Sebastiano del Piombo, in his latest manner, and a *Portrait of a Knight*; at Buda-Pesth, his portrait of *Raphael*; at the Uffizi, his *Death of Adonis*; at the Pitti, his *Martyrdom of St. Agatha* (1520), and a *Portrait of a Man*, in his later manner; in the Mond Collection, a *Portrait of Pietro Aretino*; Paris has his *Visitation* (1521) and *St. John in the Desert*; in Venice are several of his earlier works, including the *Pietà* in the Layard Collection.

Sebastiano del Piombo died at Rome in 1547, thereby leaving the Office of the Seals vacant to be offered to his fellow-student Titian, who had refused them whilst Sebastiano lived; but the office was to go to others, for Titian went north over the mountains to the court of the Emperor Charles v.

CHAPTER XVI

OF THE PAINTER OF THE BEAUTIFUL WOMEN OF VENICE, AND OF HIS SCHOOL, THAT STRANGELY ENOUGH WAS TO BRING FORTH THE CREATOR OF REALISM IN ITALY

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Out of Giovanni Bellini's studio also came the fourth of a wonderful band of students,

PALMA VECCHIO

1480? – 1528

Jacomo or Jacopo Palma, who is known to fame as Palma Vecchio (Palma the Elder), so called to mark him apart from his lesser kinsman, Palma Giovane (Palma the Younger), was born in the village of Serinalta, by Bergamo, the blue hills of which make the landscapes for many of his backgrounds. Vasari gives his age as forty-eight when he died in 1528.

Sent to Venice in boyhood to the workshop of Giovanni Bellini, he became one of the brilliant band of Bellini's students who were to make so great a stir in the world—Giorgione, Titian, and Piombo. He is, needless to say, a very Venetian by consequence, and the sign of his comradeship with his three great fellow-students is most marked. Intensely quick to outside influences, he came soon under the sway of Giorgione, as did his fellows, then under the compelling genius of Titian. It is small wonder that his masterpieces have often been credited

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XVI

PALMA VECCHIO

1480 – 1528

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS, WITH A FEMALE DONOR"

(L'Annonce aux Bergers)

(Louvre)

Beside the Virgin, St Joseph is seated leaning on his staff; a shepherd boy kneels in adoration to the Infant Christ. To the left kneels the *donatrice*, her hands folded.

Painted in oil on canvas. 4 ft. 7 in. × 6 ft. 11 in. (1·40 × 2·10).



to the others in turn. However, he changed his styles so often and so rapidly that it is no easy affair to fix the dates of his works.

In his earliest style, under his master Giovanni Bellini's influence, the *Adam and Eve* at Brunswick is the type.

In his second style, dominated by Giorgione, which is settled by the experts to run from about 1512 to 1520, from a couple of years after Giorgione's death for about eight years, though it probably began somewhat earlier, he created his finest achievement. The *St. Barbara* altarpiece for the church of Sta. Maria Formosa in Venice is the masterpiece of this stage, as indeed it is his supreme work. Of this time also is the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at the Louvre, and the *Meeting of Jacob and Rachel* at Dresden. Hampton Court possesses a fine *Holy Family* or *Holy Conversation* of this stage. In the Academy at Venice hang his golden, rich-hued *St. Peter Enthroned*, and the well-known *Christ and the Daughter of the Woman of Canaan.*

Palma Vecchio's name raises the false impression of his being an old man, as the term "the Elder" always does; but his span of life was under fifty years. He carries the credit of having created towards the end of his life that typically Venetian sacred picture known as the "Holy Conversation," in which we see gatherings of saints in a pleasant landscape—the fairer saints generally being made an excuse for the painting of the noble dames and beauties of the Venice of the fifteen-hundreds. The fashion once started, by whomsoever started, but clearly growing out of Giorgione's poetic idylls, soon had a wide vogue amongst the great painters. As a matter of fact

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the "Santi Conversazioni" had their origin in Giovanni Bellini, though greatly developed by Titian and Palma Vecchio; Palma Vecchio certainly developed them into their full design.

These Holy Conversations it was, probably, that turned Palma Vecchio in his last years to the painting of portraits of the fair blonde women of the golden hair of which the *Three Sisters* at Dresden is so famous an example, and of which Vienna possesses several to-day. At Hampton Court is another; and another is in the Mond Collection.

Of his portraits of men, few are known, and he seems to have painted few. The most famous attributed to him by some is the *Portrait of a Poet* in London, for long said to be Ariosto. It used to be attributed at one time to Giorgione, then to Palma Vecchio, then given to Titian, against whose name it stands officially to-day. The background foliage, thought to be laurel, is now found to be that of the wild olive, which strengthens the theory that the portrait is of *Prospero Colonna* who rebuilt the monastery of the Olivetani. The portrait as a matter of fact is of *Prospero Colonna*; but was not painted by Palma Vecchio—it is the work of Giorgione. Palma Vecchio is the painter of women—of the noble Venetian women of the early fifteen-hundreds. His wide vogue amongst the beauties rested on his supreme painting of their golden hair and the pearly fairness of their flesh. He fixed on canvas their type—the somewhat lethargic, ample forms of these noble dames, dignified, gracious, calm—that aristocratic, unemotional, unviolent femininity, arrayed in flowing silken robes, ropes of pearls about their ivory necks, and pearls and gems glittering and gleaming in their

blonde tresses and on their milk-white fingers and snowy bosoms—the indolent, opulent Venetian woman. In his painting of pearly flesh flooded in light, no Venetian of them all surpassed him. And his brush he employed with full, rich, liquid colour and a firm touch that prove his splendid schooling. He lacked the imagination of Giorgione—of Titian—even of Lotto. But he had the vision for his age. It has been said of Palma Vecchio's art that he set the courtly poetry of Giorgione into the simple language of villagers—it had been better said that he displayed the splendour of the rich so that the genteel might envy them their possessions.

Palma Vecchio died in 1528, leaving some forty uncompleted pictures in his studio for his pupils to finish. Of these pupils the most famous was Bonifazio Veronese, whilst Giovanni Cariani (or de' Busi) also came to fame, and completed most of his master's unfinished works.

GIOVANNI CARIANI

1480? – 1544

Giovanni de' Busi, or, as he is better known, CARIANI, Palma's pupil who largely completed his dead master's many unfinished works, was a Venetian by birth, the son of a man of distinction of Fulpiano, near Bergamo. Cariani was well-fitted for the task of this tribute to his master; he was so close an imitator of his style that it is no easy task to tell where the one ends and the other begins. His shadows are heavier in the handling, and he had not Palma Vecchio's command of draughtsmanship of the human figure. His chief works are at Bergamo and Milan. He came under many influences, and the works he painted have long been given to the artists he

affected — Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, Lorenzo Lotto, and Palma Vecchio.

BONIFAZIO VERONESE

Working about 1510—died 1540

Bonifazio di Pitati, better known as Bonifazio Veronese, Palma's pupil, has given much trouble to research owing to his confusion with two other painters of the same name, as it was thought. But it is now clear that there was only one artist of the name. The three Bonifazii have been dispersed.

Bonifazio di Pitati came of the Veronese family of Pitati, and he himself was a soldier's son. He was eighteen when he went to Venice to enter the workshop of Palma Vecchio. In Bonifazio's hands the scant spiritual essence in his master's religious pictures became still more pronounced in its lack—he employed the Scriptural subject of the Holy Conversation but as a peg on which to hang large themes of the splendid and sumptuous life of the great Venetian houses of his age, sitting under the trees of palatial gardens or parks, on terrace, or on balcony, indolently idling through their careless day.

He came by consequence to a very wide vogue. *The Rich Man's Feast* at the Academy in Venice, and *The Finding of Moses* at the Brera in Milan are famous; and they give the type of his art—the paintings of the palatial life of his day, that are the elaborate record of contemporary manners and contemporary dress. His rich and radiant canvases have an almost oriental splendour.

Of his life little is known. That he decorated the Palace of the Camerlinghi in Venice is sure. A remarkably fine colourist, with an exquisite sense of landscape, he

was a true Venetian. How interested he was in the life of his day is shown in the painting of the twelve *Rustic Occupations* of the twelve months of the year, now in the Layard collection at Venice.

With a consummate instinct for arrangement, and a wonderfully just sense of balance, he grouped his figures with rare power, and painted his art solidly and firmly. And he wrought these things with a richness of colour that is superbly Venetian.

His work has of late been disentangled from that of the three Bonifazii—Bonifazio I., II., and III. as they were called. Bonifazio III. has been discovered to be the younger Giacomo Palma, the son of Antonio Palma who had married Bonifazio's niece in 1544, and is better known as Palma Giovane, "Palma the Younger," grand-nephew of Palma Vecchio. This Giacomo Negretti, called PALMA GIOVANE, was born in 1554 and died in 1628, the type of the Venetian artist who created the decay of the art.

Bonifazio handed on his great gift of colour and landscape-painting to his brilliant pupil JACOPO BASSANO, and TINTORETTO is suspected of having learnt the mysteries in his workshop.

BASSANO

1510–1592

In training Jacopo da Ponte, who was to be known to fame as IL BASSANO (having been born in Bassano), Bonifazio, had he been able to see into the future, would have had revealed to him a great destiny for his pupil. For Bassano's vigorous art, his strength of handling the tools of his craft, his bold employment of the heavily

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loaded paint on the brush (that is called thick impasto), his dramatic sense, and his dramatic employment of telling light and shade to enhance the force of his art, his delight in bringing the peasants of the country-side and animals into his design, all made a strong impression upon El Greco, and thereby were to have no small destiny in shaping the art of Velasquez, who, through El Greco, owed heavy tribute to Bassano and Tintoretto. How profoundly Bassano impressed his art upon El Greco you shall see in the Spaniard's early work which it is difficult to tell apart; indeed, the *Christ and the Money Changers* belonging to Sir Frederick Cook was long credited to Bassano, though now claimed by the best students as being by El Greco.

To Bassano, Bonifazio Veronese handed on not only his gift of colour and insight into landscape, but his work-a-day world attitude towards the sacred subject—and it may be said that Bassano revealed an even more realistic vision, and treated his subject even more as a mere tag for the presentation of the life of the day about him, as also he showed an even deeper love for landscape.

Bassano loved his native town and the life of his country-side; no sooner was he finished with his 'prentice-ship to the mysteries of his craft, than he eagerly turned his steps homewards, settling down in the town that gave him birth, and abiding there and achieving his art there to the day of his death in 1592—from which even the flattering call of the Emperor to his Court could not draw him.

Bassano rarely painted portraits—London possesses one. His four sons all came to considerable vogue as painters after him, but their talent was far removed from

the genius of their father—yet they had fine skill, and their names, Francesco Bassano, Leandro Bassano, Giovanni Battista Bassano, and Girolamo Bassano, it is well not to confuse with his, for they followed his style closely; and all painted landscape and the life of the people with rare gifts.

Bassano's early work, *The Shepherd's Offering*, at Hampton Court, is astoundingly modern in its realism and interest in the life of the country-side that he loved, in its treatment of animals and the peasant folk, in its landscape, and in the breadth of its conception.

Besides sharing with Tintoretto the honour of guiding the path as a forerunner of Velasquez and the great Spanish school of painting, Bassano was one of the creators of modern landscape. Taught by Bonifazio, and owing some tribute to Titian, Bassano's early return to his native town in the foothills of the Alps of Cadore, thrust him back upon his own vision, and developed his very original style, which is strangely akin to the Dutch; and it is somewhat interesting to note that his broad style, as he advanced in years, developed into a powerful chiaroscuro of dark shadows and brilliant lights akin to the development of Rembrandt. He, too, like the Dutchmen, was content to paint homely scenes and the life round about him—he, too, would leave out the figure altogether and paint interiors with household and kitchen utensils, a cat or dog or still life, remarkably Dutch in aim, forestalling French Chardin. He, too, discovered the exquisite gamut of sensing that lies in greys, for all his rich and full sense of brilliant colour. He, like the Dutchmen, frankly accepted landscape as it lay before him, and was content to paint it so, not to

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arrange it for the theatre of his design—and he was the first Italian so to do. Dowered with gemlike colour that has stood the assaults of time in wondrous fashion, Bassano turned his back on the grand manner of his age, and created a living art that is hauntingly persuasive and profoundly convincing. Bassano's name will one day hold a higher repute than it yet enjoys.

Several of Bassano's works and those of his sons are at the Academy in Venice. Bergamo, Milan, and his native Bassano are also rich in them, and Vienna particularly so. Hampton Court possesses no less than ten.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCERNING THOSE WHO LEARNT THE MYSTERIES OF ART IN TITIAN'S WORKSHOP

CONCERNING THOSE WHO LEARNT THE MYSTERIES OF ART IN TITIAN'S WORKSHOP

It were well to return awhile to the dead Titian's pupils. Of the men who learnt the mysteries of the art in Titian's studio, one alone was to stand beside him in splendour, he whom they nicknamed Tintoretto; but Paris Bordone came to considerable repute.

BORDONE
1495 – 1570

Born at Treviso in 1495, Bordone came to Titian's workshop a boy of fourteen; but, if we are to rely on Vasari's gossip, the lad only stayed with Titian for a very little while, and, what would seem somewhat unusual in the initiative of a lad so young, set himself, instead, the ambition to rival the manner of Giorgione—indeed, to imitate him to his fullest capacity. As this must have been in 1509 or 1510, and the plague took the ill-fated Giorgione's great good-natured poetic body in 1510, old Vasari probably repeated tittle-tattle. 'Tis likely enough that the boy, like all who came in contact with the great, genial Giorgione, played the hero-worshipper to his full bent. But as Titian himself was completely enthralled at the very time, and painting Giorgionesques, what more likely that the youth Bordone's art should be closer akin to that of Giorgione than to that which Titian himself only developed in the years to come?

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But the full achievement of Bordone is not easy to estimate—much of it has perished, and the blank is not to be imagined. Of his wall-paintings, of which he wrought many in Venice and round about, nothing remains to us. He lives amongst the immortals as a portrait-painter. But in that which he wrought, whether as portraitist or subject-painter, now surviving, he shows small hint of Giorgione's poetic gifts. His nudes show him made of coarser fibre—and his better qualities are seen rather in the power of stating the beauty of the flesh than in painting form.

However, his were no mean powers; and he was valued at his full worth, for we find him called to the Court of the French king, Francis I., in 1538, where his influence was very marked. Many portraits were made by him, and the king honoured him with knighthood. Returning homewards, he stayed his feet at Augsburg, where he painted the decorations of the palace that was the home of the merchant-princes called Fugger, works that have wholly perished.

Bordone's most famous masterpiece is the *Fisherman presenting the Ring of St. Mark to the Doge*, that hangs in the Academy at Venice. This large work has brought the unkind reputation to Bordone of being the painter of one picture. But many of his works have so long been given to his master, Titian, that the handsome compliment has probably robbed Bordone of his next best canvases to the *Fisherman*; indeed, it is likely enough that one or two will be by Titian for ever. His splendour of colour and his dignity, his delicate rosiness in the painting of flesh, and his purple and crimson and "shot-colours" in the closely crumpled folds of his draperies,

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show him at his typical. But the range of his achievement, as seen between the *Fisherman presenting the Ring* and his *Paradise*, proves him not always to be at the same high flight. The sense of magnificence that Bordone got into the *Fisherman* is remarkable. It is claimed as one of the greatest ceremonial pictures of the Venetian Renaissance, and is little less.

Paris Bordone's only known pupil was Francesco de Dominicis or Caprioli, a native of Treviso, who formed himself on the style of Giorgione.

ANDREA MELDOLLA
Called SCHIAVONE
1522 – 1582

As grey and racked by poverty and neglect were the sixty years of Andrea Meldolla, whom they call "Schiavone," as were brilliant and splendid the years of Titian's other and more fortunate pupil, Bordone. Born at Sebenico (Schiavone), of humble parents, Andrea Meldolla was one of those many Dalmatians ("Schiavone") who went to Venice from the eastern shores of the Adriatic, seeking his fortune at the splendid Court of the "Queen of the Adriatic." The art of this brilliant man lacked no recognition from the supreme masters of his age—Tintoretto paid him the high tribute of his admiration. And he is no mean painter of whom such as Tintoretto affirm that every painter ought to have a work by Schiavone in his study, in order to study its exquisite colour. Indeed, his faulty draughtsmanship is fully atoned by the depth and richness of his pigments, the translucency of his tones, his glowing lighting and his luminous shadows. Yet he found little recognition

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from the world of patrons, and less fortune. His career was a long life of penury; and his genius, with clipped wings that forbade him to soar, had to be content with the painting of the panels of *cassone* (or coffers) and the like pieces of household furniture. Small wonder that when he died there was not enough in his own coffer to bury him.

Of Titian's imitators, if not pupils, was Polidoro Lanziani, called Polidoro Veneziano (1515?-1565), whose works have often passed for those of his great master.

Domenico Campagnola is another able imitator of Titian; indeed, his drawings are so successfully based on those of his master, that it is shrewdly suspected that many at the Louvre and in the British Museum given to Titian are by him. He undoubtedly worked with Titian.

Domenico Caprioli, working from 1518-1560, founded his art on that of Titian, Bordone, Pordenone, and the great painters of his time.

CHAPTER XVIII

WHEREIN WE LEAVE VENICE AWHILE TO STRAY INTO BRESCIA IN THE PROVINCES BELONGING THERETO

WHEREIN WE LEAVE VENICE AWHILE TO STRAY INTO BRESCIA

At Brescia and in its neighbourhood grew up a provincial school of painters influenced by local artists who had been trained in Venice, or formed their styles on the Venetians. Of these, Civerchio (1470 ?-1544), a pupil of Foppa, influenced by Zenale and Leonardo da Vinci, and one Floriano Ferramola may be said to have been the founders of the so-called School of Brescia. Out of the workshop of Floriano Ferramola, one of those local painters of Brescia, came a small group of artists of whom Moretto and Romanino are best known to fame; and Savoldo would seem to have worked alongside of them, if not actually a pupil to Ferramola.

Of Girolamo Savoldo, born about 1480 and dying about 1548, very little is known. Born at Brescia, he went as a mere boy to Venice, where he saw and studied the works of Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, Palma Vecchio, and Lotto, though it is not known whether he worked in any particular studio. Fortunately, he kept his personal vision, and romance and nature were his guide to art, and he became master of rich, if somewhat sombre, harmonious colouring. At Turin is an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, very typical of his art; and the Layard Collection at Venice possesses his richly coloured *St. Jerome in the*

Desert. At Hampton Court are two of his paintings, one of which is the *Holy Family*; and he is represented at Milan, Venice, and Berlin. It is thought that Savoldo may have been a pupil of Francesco Bonsignori.

Born and dying at Brescia, and trained under Ferramola, was GIROLAMO ROMANI, known to fame as ROMANINO (1485?-1566). He was also influenced by his townsman Savoldo. Romanino, on arriving at manhood, also went to Venice, to become subject to Giorgione and Titian. Romanino's art ranges between considerable degrees of mastery; his great *Pietà* at Berlin proves him capable of high flight; and Brescia and Padua both possess works which bring him honour.

A follower of Romanino, of the School of Brescia, was CALISTO PIAZZA DA LODI, who was working between 1521 and 1562; he came under the great Venetians, and was particularly influenced by Pordenone.

A pupil of Romanino was GIULIO CAMPI (1500?-1572), who was also torn between allegiance to Parmigiano, Lotto, Titian, and Dosso. He was of the so-called School of Cremona. But Ferramola's greatest pupil was to be known to fame as "the Blackamoor"—Moretto da Brescia.

MORETTO

1498? – 1555

ALESSANDRO BONVICINO was born at Rovato, near Brescia, about 1498, but is better known to fame by his nickname of MORETTO, or the Blackamoor. Moretto's works are mostly to be seen in his native town, where he learnt his craft under Ferramola, a local artist. MORETTO

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DA BRESCIA was more strongly influenced, however, by his fellow-pupil Romanino, and his fellow-townsman Savoldo, and by the paintings of Titian and Lotto. He never went to Venice, but from pictures by Titian and Lotto in his own neighbourhood he found the revelation of the Venetian vision, but wedded it to a silvery colour scheme that is in marked contrast with the golden colour of Titian; and though in later years his colour became more golden, his fascination lies in his silvery schemes.

Thus, though the provincial training perhaps robbed him of some sense of style and of the dramatic development in his art which Venice might have brought to his hand's skill, on the other hand it led him to create a personal style that was in many ways more interesting.

Moretto da Brescia was of sincerely devout temperament, and his religious paintings reveal a tense devotional spirit that at times is inclined to too great emphasis of emotion; but he wrought his devout art with a passionate tenderness that has a character very different from the Venetian achievement of many greater men. The *Sta Giustina* at Vienna is of his supreme master-work in colour; whilst London possesses a very fine large altar-piece in his *San Berdardino of Siena*—the National Gallery also possessing two of his very fine portraits—both entitled *Italian Nobleman*, one of which bears on his cap the motto, "I desire Julia." The churches of Brescia are rich in religious paintings by Moretto.

Moretto reached to rare dignity, and was gifted with all the Venetian instinct for composition, as he reveals in his *Feast of the Pharisee* (or *Christ in the House of Levi*) in S. Maria della Pietà at Venice, which displays a happy

union of his Brescian style with Venetian influence, and in pomp and splendour forestalls Paolo Veronese. Romanino was his partner in the frescoes of S. Giovanni Evangelista ; and again at Verona. Moretto had all the Venetian love of painting stuffs and fabrics, and enjoyed the colour qualities of silks, satins, brocades, and wools. At the height of his powers, about 1530, is his *Majesty of St. Margaret* in San Francesco at Brescia.

From Moretto's workshop a brilliant pupil was to emerge and come to fame as Moroni.

MORONI
1525?–1578

Giovanni Battista Moroni, or Giambattista Moroni (not to be confused with Morone), was born at Bondio, by Albino, in the land of Bergamo ; and, though he was trained in the mysteries by Moretto, caught little of his master's devoutness, and it must be confessed that his multitudinous religious paintings were but the uninspired efforts to paint to Moretto's prescription. But he was to come to repute as a portrait-painter. Lorenzo Lotto seems to have influenced all these men of Brescia ; and his artistry was not lost upon Moroni.

It was as a painter of men rather than of women that Moroni came into the vogue. It has been complained of his art that he only painted the outer man rather than his character ; well, if so, he painted that outer man on occasion astounding well, as in his famous *Tailor* at the National Gallery, which is rich in portraits from his hand. Moroni never won to more than local fame by his art—outside Venice and Bergamo and the neighbourhood his was an unknown name until modern days ; by

XVII

MORONI

1525?–1578

SCHOOL OF BRESCIA

"PORTRAIT OF A TAILOR"

(National Gallery)

Painted in oil on canvas. 3 ft. 2½ in. h. × 2 ft. 5½ in. w. (0·977 × 0·748).



consequence many of his portraits were given to others—Titian and Moretto amongst the rest.

To Bergamo, where he died on the 6th of February 1578, and where his chief works are to be seen, his reputation came near to being limited, for no pupils carried his name abroad, and his art died with him.

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CHAPTER XIX

WHEREIN WE STRAY FARTHER INTO PARMA, AND DISCOVER GENIUS AFLAME THEREIN

THE SPLENDID GARDEN OF ART IN THE VENICE OF THE FIFTEEN-HUNDREDS

GRANDFATHERED, in artistic development, by Squarcione —for Bianchi was pupil in Ferrara to Squarcione's pupil, Cosimo Tura, of Ferrara; and Bianchi thus carried the Paduan school of art to Modena—was the art of Modena.

Of Francesco Bianchi, known as Frari, or "Il Frarre" —the Ferrarese—(1457-1510), almost less is known than of his works, which are mostly to be seen at Modena, though the Wallace Collection in London possesses an *Allegorical Subject* by him. The Louvre contains his masterpiece, the altarpiece of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Two Saints.* However, founder of the School of Modena you may call him if you will, since Modena's chief achievement was in him; but Paduan (or the same thing, Ferrara-Bolognese) he was, descended of Squarcione, of Mantegna, and Tura. But his chief interest to us to-day is not so much in his own achievement, as in that there came from Parma to his workshop in Modena, to learn the mysteries of the art of painting from Bianchi, one Antonio Allegri da Correggio, who was to win the immortal bays as CORREGGIO. Bianchi had left Ferrara to settle in Modena in 1480.

CORREGGIO
1494 – 1534

ANTONIO ALLEGRI DA CORREGGIO, or, as the world knows him, CORREGGIO, then, was from still another city,

and so men have created a so-called "School of Parma," which has about as much reality of difference from the Paduan school that bred it, as has Modena with its Bianchi effort. As Mantegna may be said to be the glory of the early Paduan school—in other words, Padua inspired by Florence and Venice, in so far as Padua's achievement can be separated from the early art of Venice; so may Correggio be said to be its complete flowering, though he is more the true child of Venice, for his art and aim and vision are of the spirit and aim of Venice. Yet he holds a place apart, is a personality independent of the whole of the rest of Italy. With the Florentines and Umbrians he had directly not a shred in common. His colour is amazingly original. His attitude unlike all others.

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To one Pellegrino Allegri, a cloth merchant of the small town of Correggio, hard by Modena, his wife Bernardina gave birth, in 1494, to a son, whom he called Antonio Allegri. Hence from his native town he came to be known as Antonio Allegri da Correggio, and the world for short dubs him Correggio. Of his boyhood and youth little is known except that he first went to his uncle Lorenzo, a painter whose teaching must have been of the slightest, since, to paint a lion he painted a goat and wrote "Lion" under it; thence to an unimportant painter of the town, one Antonio Bartolotti, to learn the mysteries of his craft, though it is as Correggio's second master that Bartolotti's name is not wholly gone to dust. From Bartolotti the young Correggio went to Francesco Bianchi, of Modena near by. By Bianchi, pupil of Tura, the young Correggio undoubtedly was trained in

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the tradition of the Paduan ideals created by Squarcione; and the youth must have seen, as well as heard of, the achievement of Mantegna. Whatever his schooling, the young Correggio must early have given proofs of his great promise, for on the 30th of the August of 1514, two men of weight in Correggio, a syndic and a notary, came to worthy citizen Pellegrino Allegri's house, in the Borgo Vecchio of the little town, to offer a hundred ducats to the youthful Antonio for the painting of the high altar of the Franciscan church, fifty ducats to be paid on account, the rest of the hundred ducats on delivery. So it came to pass that young Antonio Allegri, by the age of twenty, was painting in Correggio an altarpiece for the Minorite friars, finishing it in the April of 1515—the which altarpiece of *The Virgin and Child Enthroned, with St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. John the Baptist, and St. Catherine of Alexandria*, may to-day be seen at Dresden—as may several of his supreme masterpieces.

Now it is abundantly clear from this *Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Saint Francis*, that Correggio had seen the work of Mantegna. It will be seen upon the map, that to the west of Correggio lies Parma, to the south lies Modena, and to the east Ferrara, famed for its patronage of art under the House of Este. To the north lies Mantua, whither Lodovico Gonzaga had called Mantegna about 1460, and where Montegna lived as Court-painter until his death—and at Lodovico Gonzaga's court Mantegna painted, as has been seen, the frescoes in their Castello, the great *Triumph of Cæsar*, and a great altarpiece for the church of Our Lady of Victory, now in the Louvre. The influence of this painting by Mantegna of

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Our Lady of Victory upon this, Correggio's first famous altarpiece for his native town, is unmistakable—here, in the Squarcionesque style, Mantegna's Enthroned Virgin sits beneath a festooned arch as she extends her right hand to protect the figure of the patron of the picture, and Correggio repeats this figure and pose of the Madonna almost exactly. Nor can we escape the obvious impression that Correggio has also seen the sphinx-smile of Leonardo da Vinci.

Correggio's early work has lately been traced by the scientific experts, and it is interesting to note that the little *Virgin and Child with Angels* at the Uffizi in Florence, long set down to Titian, has been given to Correggio's early youth, painted before he was twenty, also under Mantegna's influence, as also are the Frizzoni *Marriage of St. Catherine*, the Crespi *Nativity*, and the Bolognini *Madonna*, all at Milan ; the Malaspina *Madonna* at Pavia, the Campori *Madonna* at Modena, Prince Hohenzollern's beautiful *Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John*, in which Correggio already reveals his own selection of types, though composing still in Mantegna's style ; the Benson *Christ taking leave of his Mother before the Passion*, and Lord Ashburton's *Saints Martha, Mary Magdalen, Peter, and Leonard.*

Now the whole of this early work proves the teaching of Bianchi, with the added influence of Mantegna on the young Correggio. Nor must another probable fact be left out of consideration in Correggio's early training. He clearly in early youth must have been to Mantua to see Mantegna's work, but probably saw the more suave and graceful art of Lorenzo Costa, Mantegna's successor to the Court in 1509, which would largely account

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for Correggio's early aversion to Mantegna's severity. From the age of twenty, at which he painted the *Virgin and Child with St. Francis* for the Minorites, Correggio was now going through his transition stage—the stage of creating his style and art on tradition. We have seen him already thrusting his individual types forward, and rejecting the aims and significance of his masters in order to utter his own vision. His own marked personal utterance was about to be given forth ; he was about to fling down his scaffolding and to give rein to his own temperament untrammelled by others. His hand begins to move obedient to his will ; his intense and subtle feeling for the play of light and shade in evolving forms was to render him splendid service in the utterance of that inborn sense of grace which he possessed in such exquisite fashion.

The *Repose in Egypt* (1515-1517) at the Uffizi in Florence, the delightful *Zingarella* at Naples, in which the Mary leans over the sleeping child-Christ in the woodland, a rabbit peeping at them the while ; the *Holy Family with St. James*, or, as it is also called, *Virgin and Child with Saints James and Joseph* (1515-1517), now at Hampton Court ; and the very beautiful *Virgin with the two Children*, called the *Casalmaggiore Madonna* (1515-1517), at the Prado in Madrid, reveal Correggio intensely interested in the charm and fascination of young motherhood, as they also prove him astoundingly accomplished in his craftsmanship. The *Madonna del Latte* at Buda-Pesth, and its reputed replica at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, repeat this exquisite interest in the joy of motherhood, which dominates the young Correggio's dawning art. London possesses another beautiful example of the same sentiment in its famous *Vierge au Panier*,

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or *Madonna della Cesta* (1518-1519), so called from the wicker-basket at the Mary's side where she sits with her Babe struggling in his little short shirt to get down from her lap and be at play. At once a new note has been struck in art. All the elaborate manner and formality of the altarpiece of Correggio's Mantegnesque youth have gone; a new aim, a new vision, and consummate skill of hand to state these have revealed themselves—not only to Correggio but to the future art of the ages. 'Twas a simple theme enough—the gladness of young motherhood; but what a theme! The formalities and hidebound traditions have wholly flown. In their stead a mother with her divine child, mother and child just glad to be alive. Mark the artistry of it. Correggio has discovered the master-key of art, that colour can be made to express by the emotional use of it the sense of the feeling desired to be aroused; by consequence we see the idea painted throughout in a light blithe scheme of harmonics, wrought with exquisite transparency of shadows, the gamut of the palette creating a sense of gaiety that infects us. The brushing is bold and loose in touch, and Correggio has discovered the prodigious musical sense that is created by colour-values, so that tone is rhythmic against tone. Yet the free brushwork covers no sloven draughtsmanship—the drawing of the foreshortened struggling child is astounding. The character of infancy, from the body to the dainty baby feet, is keenly observed with piercing eye. Here is absolute *impressionism*—the suggested thing—the sublime essence of great art, Michelangelo's law of the hand leaping to create the eye's will is realised. The flesh-painting, the action, the form, the deeps of atmosphere around

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each painted object, all are consummately rendered. Correggio is complete master of his art—at twenty-four. He has conquered the translucent air. The mood of the day is his to interpret—and the mood of the human.

In that picture of *The Madonna of the Basket* that hangs in London town to-day, Correggio revealed such an advance in the language that painting may utter, as was to create the whole modern endeavour. It was at first to be misread and misunderstood. But just as Michelangelo, by the very immensity of his mighty gifts, completed and shut the vast gates by mighty fulfilment upon the art of Italy that had gone before, so Correggio, by getting closer to the inner significance of the art of painting, opened the gates to wider conquests. But this was not to be as yet.

It may be that the paint was still wet upon this canvas of *The Madonna of the Basket* when the great chance of Correggio's career came to him. His repute as a painter was clearly being carried beyond his native town.

It so chanced that the Abbess of the Convent of S. Paolo at Parma, an aristocratic convent of not very severe habits, the Donna Giovanni Piacenza, desired to have her reception-room painted in fresco by a clever young artist of Correggio, of whom she had heard much of late, and Parma lies hard by Correggio. The arms of the Abbess were three crescent moons upon a shield ; and what better than that Diana the Huntress and Goddess of Chastity should be the motive of the design. At any rate, to Parma the young Correggio went in the July of 1518, and in a year had created the famed frescoes of

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S. Paolo in Parma. Correggio leaped to the Humanities that were all the rage in cultured Parma. Over the fireplace he painted the fair Abbess herself as the Virgin goddess, mounting her chariot, the robe of blue blowing aside to show her shapely limbs; and about the walls of the Camera, or reception-room, he painted the baby cupids playing with the weapons and trophies of the chase, and, in the lunettes, set *Juno* and *Minerva* and the *Fates* and *Graces* and *Adonis* and the inevitable *Satyr*. It is all blithe, jocund, a youth's airiness, a medley of the antique tied together by strips of linen, with cups and flagons and garlands and the rest of it—the place was probably a dining-hall. The sisters seem to have had more than a little of eagerness for joy in life, which brought about severer discipline by a decree in the August of 1524 that shut the convent from the world for many a long day —perhaps thereby saving the master work of Correggio from the pietistic sixteen-hundreds.

The pretty business was finished in 1519, and Correggio was back in his native town, where he painted the exquisite idea of the *Virgin adoring the Infant Christ*, now at the Uffizi, the Mary kneeling in adoration before the Child-Christ, from whom the radiance glows which illumines the scene with its lighting, a fine conceit which he was to employ with superb force in the larger conception of the famous *La Notte*, as we shall see.

This exquisite pride and joy of motherhood in the babe, revealed to such fine purpose in the *Virgin adoring the Infant Christ* at the Uffizi, must have been painted on the eve of his marriage in 1520 to Girolama Merlini, a girl of his native town, daughter of one of the esquires to the Duke of Mantua, to whom was born his son

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Pomponio in 1521. And the *Marriage of St. Catherine*, now at the Louvre, is of near this date, or probably the year after his son was born.

However, Correggio was to be called away from his home to Parma for the second time shortly after his marriage—indeed it may be that the career he saw opening up before him decided him to risk housekeeping. The fame of the frescoes in the *Camera di S. Paolo* had spread abroad; and the Benedictines of Parma, having finished the building of their great church of St. John the Evangelist, decided to give the decoration of its interior white-plastered surface to the young Correggio, who had won such success in the convent of S. Paolo hard by. By the July of 1520 he was paid his thirty ducats of advance money, and was at work upon the frescoes. He came to the largest work he had so far essayed. His subject was the *Vision of St. John the Divine*, and he wrought the *Glory of Our Lord witnessed by the Apostles and Angels* in the cloud-filled cupola with a dignity and a mastery that are in strange contrast to his exquisite art as "the painter of the Graces." Conceived in grandeur, bold, vigorous, and daring in handling, Correggio displayed a mastery of the nude which creates a sense of nobility.

Unfortunately the great masterpiece of the *Coronation of the Madonna*, to which Correggio next turned, in the tribune of the same church was afterwards destroyed by the Benedictines when they enlarged their church, its place being taken by a copy by Cesare Aretusi; only a few fragments of the original fresco remain—the central group of *Christ and the Virgin* being at Parma, and some of the *Angels' Heads* being in private collections.

XVIII

CORREGGIO

1494 – 1534

SCHOOL OF PARMA

"THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST CATHERINE"

(Mariage mystique de Sainte Catherine)

(Louvre)

The Infant Christ is about to place the wedding-ring on the third finger of the outstretched right hand of the kneeling St Catherine, who wears a gold-brocaded robe; behind her stands St Sebastian. In the landscape background are scenes of the martyrdom of the two Saints.

Painted in oil on panel. 3 ft. 5½ in. × 3 ft. 4 in. (1·05 × 1·02).



XIX

CORREGGIO

1494 - 1534

SCHOOL OF PARMA

"MERCURY INSTRUCTING CUPID IN THE PRESENCE OF VENUS"

(National Gallery)

Painted in oil on canvas. 5 ft. 1 in. h. × 3 ft. w. (1·54 × 0·91).



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But the masterly lunette of *St. John the Evangelist* remains over the door of this church.

These great frescoes, it is amusing to note, roused the ire of the monks, who threatened their destruction; and it must be confessed that Correggio was more concerned with the Apostles as studies in the nude, and with his skill in foreshortening in which he revealed astounding powers, than he was with the devotional intention of the subject. However, Titian's hot admiration of the work, when he came to Parma a few years later, silenced the detractors at the same time that it increased the ever-growing fame of Correggio. Correggio was at work upon these great frescoes of the church of St. John the Evangelist from the July of 1520, his twenty-sixth year, until 1524, his thirtieth year. He also painted during this time his consummate mythological *Mercury instructing Cupid in the presence of Venus*, now in London (1521-1522), and the *Antiope* now at the Louvre, in both of which his exquisite treatment of the nude is seen at its highest achievement. These two pictures were bought by Charles I. of England, and, on his execution, were sold by the Parliament, the *Antiope* going to Cardinal Mazarin, the *Mercury and Venus* to the Duke of Alva, returning to England two hundred years afterwards.

Correggio was painting at the same time one fine altarpiece after another. His genius did not shine in the painting of violent martyrdoms, however, and his *Martyrdom of Saints Placidus and Flavia* and the *Deposition* (or *Descent from the Cross*), designed for Placido del Bono, the confessor to Pope Paul III., are not of his best. It was the radiant gladness of life that stirred at the heart of Correggio. To the pensive mood of life he also brought

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exquisite sensing. And in the famed picture at the Prado he wrought with rare poetry his famous *Touch Me Not Yet* (*Noli me tangere*) (1524 and 1526), where the Magdalen kneels in adoration to the risen Christ, the whole act set in a landscape that bathes it in mystic solemnity.

Correggio was thirty when he completed the great frescoes in the church of St. John the Evangelist, and in the following year, 1525, he painted for the confraternity of St. Sebastian at Modena the *Madonna and Child with St. Sebastian*, now at Dresden, nicknamed "The Riding School," from the holy babe who sits astride a cloud.

But Correggio was already committed to the making of the frescoes for the cupola of the Duomo, the cathedral of Parma, and started upon his third and last large fresco series thereat in 1526, his thirty-second year. He essayed the work on less simple lines than before, and without as complete success, though Titian vowed the vast work a masterpiece, the right value of which would have been the cupola filled with gold. To these frescoes of the *Assumption* or *Ascent into Heaven of the Virgin*, Correggio applied all his skill to conquer the mighty difficulties of the complex problem in a more daring and vaster style. In the fine achievement is a hint of that *barocco* style which was to be carried to such extremes by the coming artists of Italy.

Correggio wrought upon the Cathedral frescoes from 1526 to 1530, and it was during these years that he painted the *St. Margaret* now at Dresden, and the gracious *S. Catherine reading* (1526-1528) now at Hampton Court Palace. It was also during these, his ripe years of complete maturity, that he painted several altarpieces

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which are amongst his masterpieces. *The Madonna and Child with St. Jerome* at Parma, called by the Italians "Il Giorno" (or "The Day"), is said to have been painted in 1523, just previous to these years. Here Correggio displays that insight into aerial values of pure colour which was to be his revelation to the coming ages of painters. He has mastered the Florentine power of line, the Venetian gift of colour; but he adds to these a gift allied to the Venetian development of painting, which is beyond the Florentine, he makes light vibrate throughout his whole design. He has seen the pearly greys in shadows as well as in light. The canvas glows with translucency.

In the *Nativity*, called by the Italians *La Notte* (The Night) now one of the treasures of Dresden, painted about 1529 and 1530, Correggio again employs his exquisite conceit of the Infant Christ giving forth the radiance that illumines the scene—with Correggio the problem of painting is ever the problem of light. This, one of the supreme creations of his genius, dramatically and exquisitely conceived in intention, and painted with consummate skill of craftsmanship, reaches his highest effort in the realm of the devotional atmosphere.

The *Madonna della Scodella* at Parma seems somewhat trite after such masterpieces as these. But in the *Madonna with St. George*, painted between 1530 and 1533, after the cathedral frescoes were finished, for the church of S. Pietro Martire at Modena, but now at Dresden, Correggio tries back in quaint fashion to his first great success of the *Madonna of St. Francis*; but with what a difference! he has now conquered the problem of light.

Correggio never completed the cupola of the Cathedral. In 1530, his thirty-sixth year, his wife died,

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and he returned to Correggio. He had but four more years to live, for this man's astounding achievement was wrought within forty years of life. Besides the altar-pieces he created three mythologic subjects that increase his fame. *The Leda* now at Berlin, the *Io* now at Vienna, and the *Danaë* now in the Villa Borghese at Rome. These, painted for Duke Federigo of Mantua, went through many adventures, being taken as loot by the Swedes, being mutilated in Paris owing to the bigotry and prudery of Louis, son of the Regent, owing to Correggio's exquisite treatment of the nude—the head of the *Leda* was destroyed and had to be repainted, as also was the head of the *Io*.

Correggio died on the 5th day of the March of 1534, in his fortieth year, leaving one son, Pomponio, who became a mediocre painter.

Correggio's significance in art was his astounding use of colour in relation to the values created on objects seen bathed in light or shadow in the volume of atmosphere at which they stand from the eye. He thrust forward the reach of painting beyond the mastery of form in which the Florentines were such masters, and the employment of colour as rich decoration in which the Venetians were such masters, towards the employment of colours in their relation to each other bathed in depth of atmosphere. Of this we shall have to speak more fully when we come to consider the so-called decline of the Italian art after the Renaissance, and the rise of painting in Spain. His painting of the nude form was astounding in its subtlety of flesh tones. Correggio's advance towards colour-values thrust forward the power of painting to state resonance

and harmonies by means of the rhythm that lies in pure colour. He was the first of the moderns. His sense of pearly greys in flesh was remarkable. He gave to the human figure vitality and blitheness such as had never been seen in the art of painting. He was a superb master of chiaroscuro—of light and shade. He was one of the supreme geniuses of all Italy.

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So far from Correggio being blamed for creating the rococo by his example to the coming artists of Italy ; he created the vision that, essaying by doubtful means to advance the faculties of expression by colour, at last emerged in the supreme achievement of Spain, and cast a glamour over the strivings of many of the men of genius in the ages to be.

It is a habit to patronise Correggio as being not quite so great a master as this, that, or the other one. He was, as a matter of fact, within his realm, one of the supreme painters of the ages. No painter of the whole Italian Renaissance had such a command of the luminous play of light and shadow. No genius of them all approached Correggio in the painting of flesh in the nude.

His was a blithe, joyous art ; and his delight in his own name of Allegri as meaning "joyful" (indeed he made Latin of it, and would sign his paintings Antonius Laetus in consequence) was more than a pretty jest—it was the whole man.

Correggio's only pupil of eminence was Parmigiano.

PARMIGIANO
1504 – 1540

Francesco Maria Mazzola, better known as Parmigiano or Parmigianino, imitated Correggio's style so

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closely that his work has often been given to his master. He was the son of a capable artist, FILIPPO MAZZOLA who died in 1505; and nephew of two lesser brothers of the same, MICHELE and PIERILARIO.

LELIO ORSI (1511-1586) completes the artistic endeavour of Parma.

CHAPTER XX

WHEREIN, WANDERING TO VERONA, WE FIND HER MIGHTIEST GENIUS THERE, WHO LEADS US BACK TO VENICE

WHEREIN, WANDERING TO VERONA, WE FIND HER MIGHTIEST GENIUS THERE

Working in Verona, a pupil of Caroto, was Domenico del Riccio, called Brusasorci (1494-1567), who was strongly influenced by Titian, Torbido and Parmigianino; he was to be of considerable guidance to the rising school of young painters of his town, and to know a considerable repute in his day. He was to direct the art of several, but the greatest of all that worked with him was Paolo Cagliari.

PAOLO VERONESE
1528 – 1588

To a sculptor or stone-carver of Verona, one Gabriele Cagliari, a man of humble origin, was born in the year 1528, a son Paul, fifth child and third son, who was to become one of the world's most famous painters as Paolo Veronese. Paolo Cagliari was destined to be the last born of the mighty genius of painting in Venice. But his art was to show no sign of the end of the glory of Venice; he painted her splendour, her pomp, and her magnificence in a style superbly fitted to his pride in her grandeur. He stands beside Titian in his gift of colour, in his power to utter the magnificence of life, in the grandeur of his style; he is the equal of Tintoretto and of Titian in his unerring gift of composition which utters

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the breadth and fulness of his artistic motive with rare power that has been an example to the ages. It has been a part of critical cant to place Paolo Veronese in a somewhat subordinate position to Titian, but he takes rank second to none in the realm of the emotions that he essayed to arouse. It may be that these emotions were not the deepest or the loftiest of the human soul; but that which he felt he created in superb fashion. The splendour of life, its pomp and its magnificence, have never known a more compelling brush, a more consummate interpretation. Of the lyrical, poetic sense of Giorgione he had little—Titian had much. But in the capacity to compel colour and form to utter the splendours he has been surpassed never. His decorative gift was astounding. None could set the pageant of the glory of his race, or group the lovely women and noble-mannered men of his age in more harmonious and dignified fashion than he; his vision for the play of light and dark employed to enhance the glow of his colour was served by a skill of hand that leaped to realise his every endeavour.

And as he loved to paint prosperity on earth, so he painted Heaven as a more splendid Venice, where want and sorrow were unknown. It followed that whilst he charmed the senses and roused a feeling of magnificence, he rarely touched the heart or moved to those more profound and searching human emotions that add stature to our dignity of soul. He knew no hint of tragedy. For him the world arrayed itself in its best and smiled always. The dramatic essence was not in him. But he shared his limitations with the whole genius of Venice. Perhaps, for this very reason, he is the supreme decorator of a public building whom Italy brought forth.

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The son of a sculptor, art was in his blood, and his father made the lad apprentice to his own craft; but Paolo, baulked by the rigid limitations of plastic art, fretted to utter his art in colour. Thence he went to the workshop of his uncle Antonio Badile, a painter of Verona now well-nigh forgotten, but whose *Raising of Lazarus* in Verona is not without a hint of the grand style and rich gift of colour that were to be lifted to such superb achievement by his nephew and pupil. It was in this studio that began his great friendship with the young student Giovanni Battista Farinati, better known as Il Zelotti or Battista Zelotti, nephew of the painter Paolo Farinati.

Paolo Veronese had begun to work upon his own account, though his already marked gifts seem to have been passed over by the people of his town; but the seeing eye of Ercole Gonzaga had been upon him. By Ercole Gonzaga he was chosen with three others to go to Mantua to take part in a competition—the subject being the *Temptation of St Anthony*. Paolo won the artistic bout with his painting which was long one of the glories of the cathedral of Mantua, but has vanished. He seems, with Zelotti, to have been chosen forthwith to work with Domenico del Riccio, nicknamed Brusasorci (1494-1569)—the "Rat-burner"—and in this year of 1551, his twenty-third year, is said to have been at work with Brusasorci upon paintings in the cathedral of Mantua. Brusasorci is little known out of Verona; his masterpiece is the series of frescoes of the meeting of Charles v. with Pope Clement vii. at Bologna, when the Emperor was crowned thereat in 1530. However, returning to Verona, Paolo found that his success in Mantua, instead of bene-

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fiting him, had but roused bitter jealousies amongst his fellows there; and after painting a few pictures, now in the gallery of the town, he turned his eyes towards some other place for the exercise of his art.

Paolo had won the friendship and admiration of the architect Michele Sanmicheli, his fellow-citizen, and through him he obtained the order to decorate the Villa Soranzo, near Castelfranco. Setting forth with his young comrade Zelotti, Paolo eagerly betook him to Castelfranco; and the two friends there worked together upon the frescoes of the Villas Soranzo and Fanzola. Paolo's was a sunny, amiable, and affectionate nature, devoid of petty jealousies or meannesses; Zelotti, the younger man (he was born about 1532, and lived until 1592), admired the art of his comrade—both learned the mysteries in Badile's workshop, both owed tribute to Brusasorci. But once freed from studentship, Zelotti became a whole-souled disciple of his studio-comrade, and came to paint so like him that his works in the after-years were given to Paolo. Of these is the famous *St. Helena* at the National Gallery in London, which is disputed, though it still bears the name of Paolo Veronese upon it. . . . The work done by the two young artists at once brought them fame, and considerable orders flowed to them. Unfortunately all sign of these frescoes has almost wholly vanished.

It is said that Paolo had already become engaged to be married to his future wife before leaving Verona—his cousin, the daughter of Badile, his master. He did not marry her until 1566 or 1567—his eldest son Gabriele being born in 1568, when the painter was on the high road to his great fame, in his thirty-ninth year. Of his

life in these years, his thirties, little is known except that he was well received amongst the greatest wherever he went. But of his work the Uffizi possesses his *Martyrdom of S. Giustina*, the Louvre a *Young Mother and Child*.

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It was in 1555 that, at the call of his fellow-townsman, the Prior Bernardo Torlioni, he went to Venice to paint for him several pictures which are in the church of S. Sebastiano there, of which are the *Esther and Ahasuerus*, and to paint the superb altarpiece of the *Virgin in Glory* attended by saints—one of his masterpieces. These works forthwith established his reputation in Venice.

When Paolo arrived in Venice, Titian and Tintoretto were at the height of their fame. Their art revealed to him the fulness of the Venetian genius, so wholly akin to his own, and set aflame the genius that was in him. Shaking off the hesitations and embarrassments of his schooling, he took the open path that he saw before him, and put forth all his powers to rival the two great leaders. Titian, now in his seventy-eighth year, gave the young Veronese a generous welcome to Venice. Titian held supreme sway over the art-world of Venice, and, on his urging, Paolo received many orders for paintings for the Doge's Palace which, unfortunately, though fulfilled, were destroyed by the disastrous fires of 1574 and 1577 soon afterwards.

It is hotly disputed whether Paolo Veronese made a journey to Rome soon after completing the works for the Doge's Palace; but there is no evidence that he went. If he went, it was but for a visit with the Venetian ambassador, Cardinal Grimani, going thither in his suite in 1560-61. His artistic life belongs wholly to Venice.

It was on the 6th day of the June of 1562 that he signed a contract to paint for the refectory of San Giorgio

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Maggiore at Venice, in return for 324 silver ducats (about £160 to £200), his food whilst he wrought it, the cost of his materials, and a pipe of wine, the first of those great compositions on which his fame was to rest—the world-reputed *Marriage at Cana*, now one of the chief treasures of the Louvre—it having been carried off from Italy as part of his loot by Napoleon in 1797. This large canvas, about thirty-two feet long and over twenty-one feet high, was painted by Paolo Veronese by the 8th of the September of the following year (1563), though it holds some hundreds of figures, and its size brought out all the painter's gifts and gave full range to his genius. It is significant of the utter decline of taste in Italy in a couple of hundred years, that, though it should have been returned to Venice by the terms of the Peace of Campo-formio in 1814, the Italians considered it too large to move, and asked in its stead an insignificant picture! In the *Marriage at Cana* Paolo Veronese proved himself to be the supreme artist of the Venetians in decorating a wall-space. The larger the area he had to design the greater his powers became. He was never so great a painter as when he had to face the problems of a vast composition—and in solving the problem he stood head and shoulders even above Titian and Tintoretto. Not only did he design his spaces the more astoundingly well in the degree of their vastness, but the larger the space the more supreme his gifts—the fuller his wide-ranging faculty for light and atmosphere, the more enwrapped in daylight, the richer in colour music and in colour values. No Italian of his day had such skill or vision to paint the figures in their full roundness and yet to keep them in their decorative relation of black and white to each other,

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the canvas glowing the while with resonant and rich colour, the whole illumined with wondrous light and steeped in the enhancing resonance of shadows. There is in all he did a sense of consummate arrangement that is without exaggeration, without strain—almost as though he had wrought as by instinct, without effort. You shall find in all he did the sense of the blithe delight in the splendour of life, wrought and conjured up without Tintoretto's violent strength, rid of the blatant effort of Rubens, so that Paolo Veronese never fatigues. Brilliant in colour as in handling, unerring in rightness of balance and arrangement, arousing a sense of triumph as of the gaiety of a marriage feast, the *Marriage at Cana*, with its deep fugue-like resonances, reveals Paolo Veronese as one of the greatest painters of all Italy. Noble and dignified in its whole effect, splendid in its harmonies, absolutely musical in its stately cadence, marvellous in its light and shade, breathing a blithe joy in the splendour of life, its very worldliness is free from taint of vulgarity or any meanness. Of religious sense in the devotional meaning there is none. The canvas reveals Paolo Veronese as a superb portrait-painter. To the left is Alfonso D'Avalos as the bridegroom, with Eleonora of Austria at his left hand as bride; and of the company are Francis I. of France, Mary of England, widow of Louis XII., the Emperor Charles V., Vittoria Colonna, the Sultan Soliman; and as musicians at the feast are four of the supreme artists of the age: to the right Titian, then an old man, plays upon a bass viol; Paolo Veronese himself plays a viol; behind whom is Tintoretto with another viol; and Bassano plays a flute. Paolo shows no jealousies, leaves out no rivals.

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The effect of this great painting, a strangely worldly painting had it been designed to be set above the altar of a church, but in handsome keeping with the design of a refectory, must have been a wonder to the Venetians who first looked upon it in all its glowing freshness of colour —even to the Venetians who bathed their senses in colour. The spaciousness and the sense of height that give a lift to the senses, created by Veronese's skilful employment of the pillars and the balustrade across the centre of the composition, with the leagues of distance of the heavens beyond, are profound ; and Paolo Veronese "found himself" in the doing. It was in these so-called "Feasts" or "Banquets" that he afterwards achieved his chief successes.

In 1565 we find Paolo Veronese painting the three well-known additional canvases from the life of St. Sebastian for the church of S. Sebastiano, for which he had done his earliest paintings in Venice on his arrival ten years before—the St. Sebastian with his fellow-sufferers St. Mark and St. Marcelian being led to martyrdom (St. Sebastian, however, did not die of his arrow-wounds, but lived to be beaten to death later) ; St. Sebastian, pierced with arrows, being bound to the rock ; and the St. Sebastian tied to the column, with the vision above him of the Virgin in glory.

And it was in the following year that he is thought to have created the famous masterpiece, now at the National Gallery in London, the *Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander after the Battle of Issus, B.C.* 333—painted in the villa of the Pisani family at Este, of which family the chief figures are portraits. This sumptuous and stately canvas hung upon the walls of the Pisani villa

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until sold to England. It was a handsome gift from the painter in return for hospitality from his hosts; and it is one of the least unspoilt by repainting of any of his works.

About the year 1566 or 1567 Paolo went to Verona and painted there his *Martyrdom of St. George*. It was whilst he was at Verona that he married in 1567 Elena, his wife, the daughter of his old master Badile.

Back again in Venice, he painted in 1573 for the convent of San Giovanni e Paolo his next great banqueting picture, the stately *Christ in the House of Levi*, now at the Academy in Venice. This great work was destined to put Paolo Veronese foul of the Inquisition, before which he was called to answer for irreverence, being charged with the serious indictment of heresy. He had called the painting the Lord's Last Supper, meaning thereby the last supper that Christ had shared with His host Saint Matthew, and it is significant that, after his trial, he renamed it the *Feast in the House of Levi*. The root of the trouble with the Inquisition was the group of detested German soldiery, and the difficulty in guessing which of the three recorded Feasts the picture intended. Paolo, in a sad state of dread, appeared before the Inquisition sitting in the Chapel of S. Teodoro on the 8th of the July of 1573, anxious to mollify the deadly Inquisitors, and knowing that his friends and admirers were in a feverish state of fear that his great career was at an end. He took the policy from the start of trying to convince his judges that what he had done had been without heretical, impious, or evil intention. It is clear, however, that the hated and dreaded tribunal of the

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Inquisition realised its limited powers in Venice—contenting itself with threats. At any rate, in Venice it admitted mitigating circumstances, and did not push towards the brutalities. It was probably content to frighten an artist from further daring. It knew that its every judgment and act were jealously watched by the Senate, who were only too eager to bring a charge against it of usurpation of the liberty of a Venetian subject. It was fortunately so for Paolo Veronese, for he showed nothing but weakness in his suit; the feebleness of his defence came near to a plea of guilty. Answering his name, and giving his calling as painter, he was asked if he guessed why he had been summoned, to which he replied that he believed it was because he ought to have painted the Magdalene instead of a dog, and would have done so but that he did not think the figure "fitting or would look well," and pleading that the irrelevant figures had been introduced for decorative effect, as was usually done by artists, as "it seemed fit that the master of such a house as that of the host of our Lord, who he had been told was both rich and great, should have such attendants." "Does it, then, appear fit to you," sternly asked his judge, "that at our Lord's Supper you should paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs, and the like fooleries?" Germans as fooleries was unconscious humour which Paolo was too frightened to smile upon; but scenting danger in a flash, he answered, fearfully, that he knew what he had done was bad, but he had the example of great painters before him, and stupidly cited the nudes in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* as an excuse. It brought the wrath of his judge in a storm about him—indeed, the Inquisitor seems to have been a good critic, a sane man

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from his narrow point of view, and certainly a logical one—for, be it remembered, this canvas was called *The Last Supper*. Hotfoot came the crushing question : "Do you not know that, in such a painting as that in the Pope's chapel at Rome, drapery is not expected, disembodied spirits only being seen ; and do you dare to compare them with your buffoons, dogs . . . and other absurdities ? . . . Do you hold that it is right or even decent to have painted your picture in such manner ?" Paolo bowed to the storm, meekly replied that he could not defend his conduct—that he had not considered all these things that were now so clearly put before him—and calmly evaded all promise to change his ways. To his profound surprise, he was told that he was free, but that he must paint out the dog, paint the Magdalene in its place, and blot out the German soldiers, within three months' time. Paolo Veronese, once outside the dread Inquisition, shrugged his shoulders, breathed a sigh of relief, and never touched the picture again. He got him back airily to his painting ; and the only consequence of his dangerous adventure was a vast popularity and the increase of demand for his work. One astute thing, however, he did do—he straightway changed the name of the picture from *The Last Supper* to *Feast in the House of Levi*, craftily removing the need for the repentant Magdalene who had had no part in it, and removing any sense of irreverence from the more tragic and dramatic supper—at the same time proving how little he was concerned with the religious motive of his pictures, which were merely a peg upon which to hang a pæan to the glory and splendour of Venice.

Thenceforth he painted his Banquets and Saints

undisturbed. His Saints and Holy Families, like his Banquets, are but motives for the splendour of Venice. Paolo detested to brood on suffering, and when he had to touch on a tragic theme he wrought the theme without enthusiasm. The frescoes for the great house of Barbaro at their Villa Barbaro at Maser (Masiera), by Venice, were more to his liking, where he brought the loves of the gods and goddesses from Olympus to the walls.

Amongst his banquets are the sumptuous *Marriage of Cana* at Dresden, a superb composition, and the stately *Feast of St. Gregory* (1572), at Monte Berico, Vicenza. Dresden also possesses his glorious *Finding of Moses* and *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Madonna with Cuccina Family*; Madrid has his *Christ and the Centurion*; the Louvre contains his *Christ at Emmaus*; the Borghese his *St. Anthony Preaching to the Fishes*; Verona his *Martyrdom of St. George.*

The last years of his great career were passed by Paolo Veronese chiefly in painting the decorations for the Ducal Palace which had been rebuilt. Of these are the *Thanksgiving for the Victory of Lepanto*, and the superb masterpiece of the *Rape of Europa*, one of the richest of all his achievements. A *Battle of Lepanto* is at the Venice Academy.

Veronese has left a few portraits which prove him a master of portraiture as fine as any that Venice brought forth—strong and individual—of which are the famous *Pasio Guadienti* (1556) in armour at Verona; the portrait of a *Man in Green* at the Colonna Palace in Rome; the *Daniel Barbaro* at the Pitti in Florence, and another *Daniel Barbaro* at Dresden; and the *Lady and Child* at the Louvre.

Refusing to be tempted from his beloved Venice,

XX

PAUL VERONESE

"THE FINDING OF MOSES"

(Prado, Madrid)



even at the call of Philip II. of Spain to aid in the decorating of the Royal Palace and Mausoleum then in course of building to the glory of the great Spanish victory over the French at St. Quentin in 1557, Paolo Veronese fitly met death in a pageant at Venice. Walking in a jubilee procession in honour of Pope Sixtus V., he caught a chill, and passed away on the 19th day of the April of 1588, and his body lies buried in the church of S. Sebastiano where he first came to his great fame in the Venice that he loved, and where he was buried with great pomp and ceremony.

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Veronese's friend and fellow-student BATTISTA ZELOTTI (1532 ?-1592), pupil to Badile and to his uncle PAOLO FARINATI, was, like Veronese, brought up under the influence of Brusasorci, but soon developed wholly into sympathy with the style of Paolo Veronese, from whom it is often most difficult to tell him.

Paolo Veronese had a brother BENEDETTO CAGLIARI, a painter, whose portrait appears in Paolo's masterpieces, and amongst his bevy of pupils were his two sons GABRIELLE CAGLIARI and CARLETTO CAGLIARI, of whom Carletto was a very gifted painter. These two sons, together with his brother Benedetto, wrought their art together after their great kinsman died; and probably completed several unfinished works. The three often signed a work together; but Carletto was destined to an early grave, dying at the age of twenty-six. The school of Paolo Veronese, to which Venice of that day gave the title of "heirs of Veronese," strove to carry on the great tradition of the master; but the art of Venice of the golden age was near at an end. It may be that many of the fine works at present given to Paolo Veronese were by some

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of these whose names are forgot. It is certain that, though not by Veronese, many are superb achievements. Of the many artists, men of genius, who owed tribute to Paolo Veronese, it would be difficult to give a full list. His influence was as prodigious as his art. He created a splendid style that will influence art into eternity. But amongst his immediate followers was Alessandro Varatari (1590-1650), who rose above mediocrity in his painting of children—his favourite subject; but he filched his designs from Titian and Paolo Veronese without scruple, and thereby never discovered individuality.

Tintoretto and Jacopo da Ponte, called Il Bassano, lived on awhile to bring glory to Venice; but with Veronese, Tintoretto, and Bassano, the great art was to flit from Venice and follow the art of all Italy over the mountains to the Rhine and across the sea to Spain.

It has become a habit amongst the modern scientific critics to challenge several of the works long given to Paolo Veronese. It is only right, however, to remember that Ridolfi, with much detail of their painting, gives to Paolo Veronese the *Venice, Queen of the Adriatic*, the *Capture of Smyrna*, the *Defence of Scutari* at Venice. The beautiful *Venus Enthroned* at the Academy in Venice is so superb a work that it is difficult to think it to be by any man who could have escaped high reputation; and it was a universal tribute of his age that Veronese was famed for his generosity of act to his fellows and rivals, never employed an unworthy trick to gain work, never degraded the dignity of his calling by a mean act.

To the painting of pageant that Gentile Bellini and his

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great pupils created, Paolo Veronese brought the supreme achievement, for to him was granted a glow and brilliance, a sense of movement and colour, of grouping and composition that had been withheld from the primitive vision and skill of hand. He painted a gorgeous world always making holiday, proud to be alive. Like all the four supreme masters of Venice, saving only Tintoretto, like Titian and Giorgione, he was born outside the city in the waters; but, like them, he fell to love of her, and his whole glory was in her. They all four stand side by side in majesty of achievement. The serene gaiety and sunny essence of Paolo Veronese's great art won the homage of Titian; and what Titian accounted great is above the bookish challenge of little men. Had no other painter lived and wrought in Venice, we should have in his art the whole soul of Venice—her pomp, her pageantry, her grandeur, and her genial ease. In his light-illumined canvases live again her nobles, her merchant-princes, her soldiery, her languid womanhood, her beautiful courtesans, her life in which mixed Oriental, Moor, and men of foreign races, her flunkeys and her buffoons, her very pets and dogs—the opulent, sun-filled Venice of stately palaces built in the glittering sea, her boundaries the blue heaven—a city of music and feasting. No hand ever filled a vast canvas with such consummate skill as his. He saw the outside of life, 'tis true; shrank from the inner life, except when he painted portraiture. But he painted the life he saw with a joy in the doing that leaves one without sense of fatigue or of effort. One of the finest draughtsmen of Venice, one of the greatest colourists, he was gifted in prodigious fashion with the sense of music that is in colour.

CHAPTER XXI

WHEREIN WE WALK WITH THE LAST OF THE VENETIAN GIANTS

TINTORETTO

1518 – 1594

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TEN years older than Paolo Veronese, but living six years after Veronese went to his grave, was the only giant of the great Venetians of the fifteen-hundreds who was born in Venice—ROBUSTI his name and robust his nature; but as such known to how few, whilst by his nickname of IL TINTORETTO, "the Little Dyer," his name is world-reputed.

To Battista Robusti, a dyer of cloth and silk in Venice, or, as the Italians would call him by trade, a "tintore," was born in 1518, in his house in Venice, the son JACOPO ROBUSTI, destined to immortality as Tintoretto. The child was born into an Italy that had lately lost Raphael, but in which Titian and Michel-angelo were reaching to their great fame. The son of a dyer in prosperous circumstances, Tintoretto had not to face the troubles of the poor of purse, luckily enough for him, for he had a wilful brain for creating trouble for himself. The son of doting parents who hailed with glee the boy's first attempts to decorate the walls of his home with designs painted with his father's stock-in-trade, it was decided to put him into the studio of the greatest living artist—so to Titian he went as a mere lad. In

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TINTORETTO

"VIRGIN AND SAINTS"

(Louvre)



PAINTING

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Titian's workshop he is said to have roused the master's jealousy by the astounding promise of his drawings; it is more likely that he got foul of his master by his own stiff-neckedness, and even more likely that, being an independent, original, and somewhat self-opinionated youth, watched over by doting parents, he slipped quietly out of the studio life and set to work to train himself in his own fashion—fortunately for his art and for his fame. Still, though he was but a short while with Titian, he owed in his art vast tribute to him, and ever worshipped his genius. Whether he went awhile to pupillage under Bonifazio Veronese is not very certain; but he was certainly also influenced by his style. It is usual for the critic to affirm that Tintoretto owed little or showed little tribute to Titian. As a matter of fact, his debt to Titian in colour was prodigious. But what is clear to an artist, but is likely to mislead scientific criticism, is the subtlety of his debt to Titian, for it is hidden under his debt to another who had small sense of colour, but whose draughtsmanship is the wonder of the ages—Michelangelo.

In fact, the youthful Tintoretto was irked by direct schooling. He was born with ideas. The lad got him to a workshop of his own—he was well-to-do, and could carve out his own destiny regardless of patrons and masters. So to a workshop of his own he went; and it is significant that from the start he knew what he wanted to do, for he wrote across the wall the famous guidance: "The design of Michel Angelo and the colour of Titian." It was all in that. In the doing he wrote his creed above the high altar of his faith.

But, it will be said, what did he know of Michelangelo?

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The lad was self-taught. He was his own master, his own university. The paintings of the great of his day, of Giorgione, of Titian, of Bonifazio Veronese, were for the seeing, and he looked upon them with inquisitive eyes that never forgot. He possessed several small models that had been wrought by Daniele da Voltena from Michelangelo's figures on the tombs of the Medici at Florence, set up there by Michelangelo a few years before —and from these the young fellow drew with keen industry that he might master the skill of great draughtsmanship. He himself modelled in clay and wax that he might master form ; and whilst he gave his day to painting "like Titian," he spent his nights in drawing from casts, that he might design "like Michelangelo." So it came that the name of Tintoretto was to stand in the years for one of the greatest draughtsmen and colourists of the genius of Venice.

It is abundantly clear that Tintoretto always harboured resentment of Titian's neglect of him ; and his friends diligently nursed that resentment his life long ; yet it says much for the man that he never seems to have taken any steps to wound the man whose art he revered.

The gossip of Ridolfi, himself an artist like Vasari, and born about the year that Tintoretto died, has it that Titian, finding his work astoundingly copied by the young pupil Robusti, bade one of his other pupils dismiss him. Tintoretto probably told the story in old age, and it is certain that he always considered Titian jealous of him. It is equally certain that during the long years of Tintoretto's struggle for recognition Titian withheld the weight of his all-powerful help, and seems to have had no eyes for his great gifts, who was so generous in acclaim-

ing the genius of Veronese, and indeed of far lesser men than Veronese or Tintoretto. Indeed, he was only known to praise a picture by Tintoretto at last on seeing it displayed without signature.

Whatsoever the cause of quarrel or resentment, Titian never overlooked it; and it was to cost Tintoretto dear. But the young fellow went to work to carve his way to supreme achievement with courage and address. It had been a reproach to the Venetian art that it lacked great draughtsmanship. Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese were to rid it of the reproach.

With his own precocious views on art formed in very boyhood, he trained his hand to colour by copying several of Titian's works. But he went also to antique sculpture. He also gave himself up to the problem of lighting, painting not only by day, but working by artificial light at night for the increase of the problems of shadow, modelling small statues himself, and setting them in difficult attitudes to draw from, thereby coming to command of foreshortening, perspective, and form. He is said to have been the first to use a network of strings stretched in squares across a wooden frame, through which to look at a figure in order to check his drawing. He paid handsomely for nude models, whom he posed in difficult attitudes. He dissected dead bodies in order to learn anatomy. So that, by untiring labour, he was at twenty complete master of the grammar of his art.

But when he awoke to the desire to utter the art that was in him, armed with every weapon for the great adventure, he found himself baulked. Ruskin, in exaggerated praise, acclaimed him "nearly as strong as

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Raphael, Michel Angelo, and Titian put together." Tintoretto was never that.

Giorgione and Titian had freed painting from servitude to statuary, from subjection to line, and had created impressionism. Tintoretto was, in later days, to thrust this triumph of colour, this impressionism, to still further lengths, and lead to the revelation of Velasquez. But it was for reasons outside his art that he suffered the cold shoulder. Venice was full of brilliant men. Orders were dependent upon influence, and kissing went by favour in Venice as elsewhere.

The very mastery of the young fellow made people suspicious that he was slick and facile, not knowing through what fierce self-training he had achieved facility and rapidity. He would take up any order, however great, however trivial, however mean the price. And they suspected him of being only worth the lower price.

This unconventional self-training, which, whimsically enough, could not have been more severely academic than that of the most academic academy, was far more academic than any he would have received in a Venetian studio. Yet its social drawbacks were exactly the reverse of what a "sound academic training" would have been to-day. By losing touch with the great studio of Titian, he cut himself off from the ordinary road to promotion —the recommendation of his master for great public works.

Tintoretto early realised this; and it must ever be set to his credit in palliation for the somewhat commercial and sordid ways to which he stooped in his dogged and envenomed struggle for recognition. In-

tensely ambitious—the writing on the wall reveals how ambitious—of astounding industry, flinging himself into his work with the ferocity of a Michelangelo, he early came to rapidity and facility of execution. By dogged and untiring perseverance, and with a cheerful courage and confidence, he flung himself into the aim of blotting out every obstacle from his path to great achievement. Yet his reputation advanced but slowly. Nor can it be denied that his art developed at first but slowly. No wonder that, ever eager for work, of such prodigious industry that he would paint a huge canvas whilst even such facile painters as Paolo Veronese were making the sketches for it, the art world of his day nicknamed him "Il Furioso." He was to live long; and the output of his work was prodigious.

The gossip of Tintoretto's eager desire for recognition, and of the extraordinary shifts and dogged push whereby he strove for reputation, is to be found amongst all the writers of the times. He hung a couple of portraits, one of himself and one of his brother, in the open-air display of the young artists in the narrow thoroughfare of the Merceria, that leads to the Piazza San Marco in Venice; and they caused considerable sensation—the more so as he had them artificially lit—which sounds crude enough. Indeed, he knew the ways of advertisement long before "Get On or Get Out" saw the printing-press. But, needless to say, his methods scarcely tended to a dignified repute essential for great orders. However, it started tongues wagging. The first church to recognise the budding genius of Tintoretto was that of Santa Maria del Carmine. His work therein seems to have drawn commissions from S. Benedetto and Santo Spirito. Soon thereafter the

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Scuola della Trinita awoke to his powers, and for it he painted the immortal *Death of Abel* and the *Adam and Eve*.

Tintoretto, taking a house in the west of Venice overlooking Murano, married early, mating Faustina, daughter of Marco dei Vescovi, of a patrician house of Venice, whereby it would seem that, from the first, he must have moved amongst the noble class. It was a happy marriage for the "Furioso." Faustina was a devoted wife, and an enthusiastic partisan of her husband's genius, proud of his career, and a hot ally in his fight for fame. She made him wear, from the day he married her, the long cloak of the nobility. And if she kept a tight hold of the purse, and demanded a strict account of the spending of such small sums as she doled out to him, he, at any rate, had the dry humour to blot out troublesome details by putting them down to gifts to charity! Of the seven or ten children born to them, two came to distinction—the boy, Domenico Robusti, was to become his father's trusted pupil and assistant; the girl, Marietta Robusti, became her father's constant and beloved companion, his pupil, his helper in preparing his colours and canvases even as a small child, and wherever he went she went with him, dressed as a boy, until she was sixteen—she was to inherit a large part of his genius. Sad to tell, the girl, who married early, died at thirty, to the bitter grief of Tintoretto, who painted her as she lay dead, and never wholly shook off his grief for her.

Unfortunately, much of Tintoretto's early work was wrought in fresco—and fresco in Venice meant perishing. Amongst his reputed early works were the two powerful pictures of *Adam and Eve* and the *Death of Abel*, now at

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the Academy at Venice, painted for the Scuola della Trinita. They are triumphs of art, and from their superb style look as if they were of his mature accomplishment. But Tintoretto, though his ambition was ever for vast canvases, always achieved his highest art on the smaller spaces, except in rare cases. The *Death of Abel* in particular is a noble work that places Tintoretto amongst the supreme masters.

Amongst Tintoretto's fellow-students at Titian's studio had been Andrea Meldolla, called Schiavone, who, though he never fell foul of his great master, never seems to have been aided out of his poor lot as artist by the great man. Whether he resented Titian's lack of support or not, or whether his friendship with Tintoretto caused Titian to neglect his advancement, Schiavone became a hot ally of the young fellow, and remained an ally through their long lives. Tintoretto, in falling foul of his master, brought upon himself the enmity of his master's powerful friends, and, needless to say, Pietro di Aretino poured forth attacks upon him. Schiavone is said to have arranged the hoax played upon Aretino that put some sense of shame and fear into that arrogant and vile nature. The tale has it that Tintoretto, flattering that easily flattered journalist, asked him to come and sit for his portrait—and Aretino, greedily falling into the trap, came; but on Tintoretto producing a long pistol, or as some say a long dagger, and measuring his height by it, Aretino became alarmed and, in a state of terror, dashed from the studio. Tintoretto and Schiavone were wont to laugh over the adventure for many a long year. It silenced Aretino. But Tintoretto was soon to make a mark that put him above attacks by such as Aretino,

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since to attack him only damaged the reputation for taste in his assailants.

Whether by Schiavone's advice and goodwill, or at the eager young artist's own initiative, Tintoretto called upon the Prior of S. Maria dell' Orto, his parish church, and asked to be allowed to paint its bare walls, but knowing the brotherhood to be far from wealthy, he only asked for the cost of the materials. His offer being gladly accepted, he flung himself at his task with the enthusiasm that won for him his nickname of Il Furioso, painting for it his *Last Judgment*, his *Worship of the Golden Calf*, and his *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*. Here at last he had found scope for his ambition to paint large works. The powerful artistry of these works at once brought him to the front. The pictures are so heavily repainted that it is difficult to imagine them in their first freshness; the *Golden Calf* is interesting as being supposed to contain the portraits of Tintoretto, Titian, Giorgione, and Paolo Veronese supporting the golden calf in the roadway.

For it may be said that Tintoretto's fame did not become at all general until 1546, his twenty-eighth year, with these paintings of the *Last Judgment*, the *Worship of the Golden Calf*, and the *Presentation of the Virgin*, for Santa Maria dell' Orto, his parish church—that church in which he was destined to be laid to rest when his long and strenuous life was at an end. His thirtieth year, 1548, saw him painting the *Miracle of St. Mark* at the Venice Academy, and the *St. George destroying the Dragon* of the National Gallery in London. Yet it must be confessed that the restless and crude design of the *Last Judgment*, the confused design of the *Golden Calf*,

the broken composition of the *Presentation*, the over-solid flying saint in the rich and golden *Miracle of St. Mark*, and the "untidy" design of the *St. George*, whilst they display his great gift of colour, only foretell the splendour and the power of his genius. Tintoretto rarely succeeded in great compositions, as he shall find who carefully compares his supreme works with those of his lesser achievement. He was just the reverse of Paolo Veronese in this matter of size of canvas. The rapidity of his achievement of these works for S. Maria dell' Orto seems to have created as much sensation as their astounding promise; at any rate he was soon receiving orders for paintings for convents and churches. But it was in 1548 that he set to work on his next "important" work, in which year he was chosen from amongst a group of artists, of whom were Paolo Veronese and Schiavone, to paint for the Scuola di San Marco the *Rescue by St. Mark the Evangelist of a Christian Slave*, now known as the *Miracle of St. Mark*, in the Academy at Venice. Stiff in grouping, and clumsy in its treatment of the flying saint, as it is, the painting has increased sense of arrangement and pronounced power. It has an interest also in that Tintoretto's own portrait appears in it three times—in the right-hand corner; in the figure that leans forth from between two columns on the left; and in the figure by the slave. It established Tintoretto as a superb colourist and master of chiaroscuro.

The story runs that the picture was coldly received by the monks, and Tintoretto, never cool of temper, vowed that they should not have it; and sent his servants who brought it away to his own home, whence it was returned again to the monks only upon a contrite

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apology and urgent entreaty. Quick to be appeased as to be enraged, back he sent the painting—and was forthwith asked to paint three more: the *Finding of the Body of St. Mark at Alexandria*, now at the Brera in Milan, the *Bringing of the Relics to Venice*, and *St. Mark Saving a Distressed Mariner from Shipwreck*, both now at the Palazzo Reale in Venice. Here again, though the composition be more faulty than the *Miracle of St. Mark*, we have, as ever, Tintoretto's glowing sense of colour.

In the year 1560 was born to Tintoretto his little daughter Marietta, who was to be the great joy of his life. The Brotherhood of San Rocco seem now to have become envious of the fame that Tintoretto was bringing to San Marco, for, in 1560, they invited the leading artists in Venice to send designs for the ceiling of their refectory. Tintoretto decided to forestall his fellows. Discovering by bribery the exact size of the ceiling, he set to work furiously to paint the *Apotheosis of San Rocco* straight away, the complete size, and finished it whilst his more leisurely rivals, Veronese amongst the number, were making rough designs. Having secretly got the painting placed in position, the artists arrived with their sketches to find that Tintoretto had completed and placed his painting in position—which called forth the generous praise of the others. The Brotherhood, however, irritated at the liberty taken by Tintoretto, turned sulky, whereon Tintoretto offered them the painting if they cared to keep it. Their resentment, cooling, was swept aside by the acclaim of the defeated rivals—indeed, the tribute of his fellows so healed the wounded pride of the brethren that Tintoretto was commissioned to paint a large picture year by year for the further decoration of the Scuola and

its church ; and thus, for the remainder of his life, the works upon the walls of San Rocco are the milestones of his art's career—indeed, he had not quite completed his vast task when death took him. It is with San Rocco, therefore, that his name is most largely associated ; and it is well to consider his vast achievement thereat as a whole, though it must be remembered the while that he was painting other and various masterpieces during the whole period, from his forty-second year to his death. In the *Death of Abel* Tintoretto had foretold his great achievement ; he was now to achieve his mighty art. Amongst the sixty-two paintings at San Rocco are several of his sublime masterpieces.

San Rocco, or St. Roch, for the saint was a Frenchman of Montpellier who, at the end of the twelve hundreds, having been set apart to the service of God, as the birthmark of a red cross on his breast revealed, found himself orphaned at eighteen, and straightway giving his great fortune to the poor, set off on foot for Rome ; but on reaching Italy and finding the land raging with the plague, he gave himself up to nursing the stricken people, until, on reaching Piacenza, he was himself struck down, when, fearing to infect others, he crept to a wood outside the city and lay down to die. Here an angel appeared to him to tell him he would recover ; and a dog coming every day to lick his sores, and bringing food, the dog's master, a nobleman, one day came to see what the dog did, found St. Roch, took him to his home, and, on his recovery, followed his example and joined him in tending the plague-stricken people. Returning to Montpellier after the plague, St. Roch, in mistake for a criminal, was flung into prison, where five years later he died,

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when they found his witness of identity and a promise on reaching Heaven to intercede for all stricken by plague who should call his name in their prayers. His name was near forgotten, when, during the plague in Switzerland in 1414, a monk had his effigy carried in procession and the plague ceased. Venice decided to steal the relics from Montpellier, and, sending pilgrims to his shrine in Montpellier, they carried off his body in the night to Venice. A Brotherhood, to which the great nobles of Venice belonged, was formed; and in 1516 were begun, and in 1550 completed, the great buildings of the Scuola and church of San Rocco.

In 1565 Tintoretto wrought his far-famed *Crucifixion* —the only picture signed by him in San Rocco. Here he shows an increasing sense of balance and arrangement that create dignity and evolve drama. In spite of the fret of restless little figures breaking the mighty motive, and of some petty details, the general effect of the whole sweeps into one great scheme of rare dramatic power centring in the majestic central figure of the crucified Christ. In it Tintoretto created one of his supreme masterpieces, and one of the greatest paintings of the Crucifixion.

At San Rocco also is the far-famed and dramatic *Annunciation* painted with rare originality, if somewhat tragically stated; painted with a balance of arrangement and a beauty of style that make it one of the paintings of the age. Here Tintoretto has mastered the whole gamut of his art—movement, flight, values, light and shade, dramatic intensity, beauty of style, and the resonance that is in colour—a rhythm as of music poured forth from some vast organ, as the winged angel swoops

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in flight as of some bird through the doorway of the ruined place, a host of angel infants in the angel's train, as she points to the hovering dove above the startled Mary, who hears with fear the announcement that she has been chosen to be the mother of God.

At San Rocco also are in the Lower Hall the dramatic *Massacre of the Innocents*, the famous *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Flight into Egypt*, with its beautiful Mary, the *Circumcision*, the much-restored *Assumption*, and the *St. Mary Magdalene* and *St. Mary of Egypt* in landscapes which rather overwhelm the figures.

On the staircase is the small but wondrously eloquent *Visitation*, painted with astounding simplicity, and a fine sense of arrangement, and to this day in a wonderfully preserved state of colour.

In the Sala del Albergo, where hangs the great *Crucifixion*, and where the ceiling holds the paintings that won Tintoretto his great commission to paint the Scuola, besides the eleven single figures and heads of the cherubim are, on the walls, the famous *Christ before Pilate*, the *Ecce Homo*, and the *Christ bearing the Cross*, the last two so like the art of Titian that they are sometimes challenged as his.

On the walls of the Upper Hall, out of which opens the Sala del Albergo that contains the *Crucifixion*, are the paintings of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*—a masterpiece known throughout the civilised world, in which, in the loft, its broken roof open to the night, are the Holy Family and Child, whilst below are the adoring shepherds in the cattle-shed ; a radiant masterpiece in which Tintoretto's self-schooling in painting by artificial light served him to such majestic purpose, and in which his ever-increasing

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sense of impressionism stands fully revealed—the *Last Supper*, the *San Rocco in Heaven*, the much-injured *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, the *Baptism of Christ*, the *Resurrection*, the *Agony in Gethsemane*, the *Raising of Lazarus*, the *Ascension*, the *Christ healing the Sick at Bethesda*, and the well-known *Temptation in the Wilderness*, the two sketched-in figures of *St. Rocco*, *St. Sebastian*, an indifferent work, and the *Portrait of Tintoretto*, painted by himself in 1573. Most of these do not show Tintoretto at the high fulfilment of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* ; but it is interesting to note that Velasquez, during his visit in Venice in 1630, was to make a copy of the *Last Supper*, now at the Prado. Tintoretto also painted for this room several subjects from the Old Testament, mostly for the ceiling, of which the *Plague of the Serpents*, the *Miraculous Fall of Manna*, *Elijah and the Angel*, and the *Paschal Feast* are perhaps the finest, together with single figures of women hovering in space, and the *Moses striking Water from the Rock*, the best known.

To go back to Tintoretto's trick by which he won to the road that led him upon his great life-work at San Rocco in 1560—by such strange ways does destiny open the gates to the realm of genius—he had scarcely started upon the series when, to his great joy, he was chosen for the decoration of the Council Room of the Doge's Palace, and painted the *Portrait of the reigning Doge, Girolamo Priuli*, the *Excommunication of Frederick Barbarossa by Pope Alexander III.*, and the *Battle of Lepanto*. The *Excommunication* and the *Lepanto* were destined to be burned in the great fire at the Doge's Palace shortly after they were set up.

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In 1574 Tintoretto was promised the patent of brokerage that meant the State office of painter which Bellini and Titian had held. Unfortunately a great fire broke out in the Palace of the Doges on May 11, 1574, and burned many of the most precious works of art; and was followed by another terrible fire on the 20th of the December of 1577 which completed the disaster. But the rebuilding was started at once; and the redecoration was keenly taken up by the great city.

However, he was to paint some of his greatest canvases for the Ducal Palace thereafter.

Others that he painted for the Ducal Palace in the later years of his life were the *St. Jerome and St. Andrew*, the *St. George rescuing the Princess*; in the Collegio, *St. Mark presenting Doge Mocenigo to Christ*, the splendid *Marriage of St. Catherine*, the *Doge Griti before the Virgin*, and the *Doge Daponte before the Virgin*; in the Sala dello Scrutino the *Battle of Zara*; in the passage leading to the Council of Ten, the portraits of *Andrea Delpluno* (1573), of *A. Cicogna*, and *Federigo Contarini* (1570).

Whilst engaged on these many works, Tintoretto painted in 1561 his huge canvas of the *Marriage at Cana*, now in the church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice, some twenty-one feet by sixteen in surface.

At S. Maria Mater Domini in Venice is the finely spaced *Finding of the True Cross by St. Helena*.

For S. Giorgio Maggiore he painted the *Gathering of the Manna*, though much perished and ill-treated, a splendid ghost, that contains a portrait of himself; the *Entombment* and the *Last Supper*.

S. Paolo also contains a *Last Supper*, as well as an *Assumption of the Virgin*. Tintoretto's temperament sent

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him always towards dramatic moments, and it is needless to say that it is at the dramatic moment always that he paints his pictures of the Last Supper—the loss of the serene spiritual atmosphere, and a certain violence of movement and restlessness of composition are, however, atoned by dramatic art, and a deep sonorous utterance that compels the tragic sense.

At S. Maria dell' Orto, where he wrought his early fame, is also the *Legend of St. Agnes*. At S. Cassiano are three fine works: the "square" *Crucifixion*, a dignified design marred by the figures on the ladder; the *Descent of Christ into Hell*, and the *Resurrection* of the Christ from the tomb amidst a flight of cherubim. The church of the Jesuits contains an *Assumption of the Virgin* and *The Circumcision*.

The Academy of Venice is very rich in masterpieces of this great Venetian, and holds some of his greatest portraits, amongst which are several Doges. It contains the three golden canvases, rich and warm in colour and shadow, and displaying his skill over mass—the famed and glowing *Miracle of St. Mark*, and the marvellously atmospheric *Adam and Eve* and *Death of Abel* in rich brown harmonies, so dramatic and sonorous in their wealth of light and shade, so luminous and so deep—the one a glorious idyll and the other a compelling tragedy; consummate in draughtsmanship, in impressionism, in dramatic intensity. Here also are several of Tintoretto's portraits of Venetians, in which he frankly looks at the wealth-seeking great ones of his day, and records them without glamour, truthfully, as he saw them—the *Doge Alvise Mocenigo*, in brown and grey; the *Portrait of a Man* with ermine-bordered jacket; the *Andrea Cappello*,

an early work; the *Morosini* portrait in grey greens. At the Academy also are the *Madonna with three Saints and three Donors*, the *Deposition*, and a dignified and sublime *Crucifixion*, generally known as "The Second Crucifixion," a mystic work of rare power; the *Madonna and three Donors*.

In the Royal Palace hang several of his masterpieces; and upon the walls of the palace of Prince Giovanelli.

The tale of the achievement of Tintoretto in art would be incomplete without a tribute to his fine gifts in portraiture, which he painted with that forthright vigour that marked all his painting. There is a head of a bearded man by him at the Louvre, *Portrait of a Man*, which is a very masterpiece of portraiture.

Florence is rich in portraits from the hand of Tintoretto. The Pitti holds the *Luigi Cornaro*, the *Vincenzo Zeno*, and the two *Portraits of Men*; the Uffizi has the *Portrait of Himself*, the *Bust of a Young Man*, the *Admiral Venier*, the *Portrait of an Old Man*, the *Jacopo Sansovino*, and the *Portrait of a Man*. Hampton Court possesses a *Knight of Malta* and a *Senator*.

Now to come to some of the most perfect of his works in which Tintoretto painted the human form with a poetic vision that he had displayed in youth in his *Adam and Eve*, of which Mr. Crawshay possesses a superb replica in London, and *Death of Abel*, but in which is a riper artistry wholly unchilled by age, and glowing and exquisite in handling: at the Doge's Palace are the superb *Mercury and the Three Graces*, the *Vulcan's Forge*, the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, and the *Minerva expelling Mars*, all of the year 1578, Tintoretto's sixtieth year, in which beauty

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of modelling, the glow of flesh, and consummate arrangement combine to create radiant masterpieces that are flawless in their power. Of this great period is the glorious *Origin of the Milky Way*, now one of the treasures of the National Gallery in London. Never was the human figure seen more beautifully, never painted with more consummate allure of the flesh. Hampton Court possesses one such canvas in considerable decay, the fine *Nine Muses in Olympus*, as well as the *Esther fainting before Ahasuerus*.

The public galleries of great cities possess many fine works from Tintoretto's hands—Vienna, London, Munich, Brussels, Berlin ; and many private collections are enriched by them. Madrid possesses his *Battle by Land and Sea*, his gruesome *Judith and Holofernes* ; Dresden his *Rescue* ; Berlin his *Luna with the Hours* ; Paris his *Susanna and the Elders* ; Vienna an early painting of *Galleys at Sea*.

The State had decided in 1588 to replace a large picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, painted in 1365 by Guariento of Padua on the end wall of the great Council Hall of the Doge's Palace, with a greater work, and had arranged with Paolo Veronese for its creation, when he fell ill and died. To the aged Tintoretto, who was now without peer in Venice, was given the design, which, when he heard that Veronese was dead, he had prayed to God that he might be chosen to fulfil. "The Paradise," said he, "I long for after death mayhap will be denied to me, so that I would be glad to be allowed to create one on earth."

XXII

TINTORETTO

1518 – 1594

VENETIAN SCHOOL

"THE ORIGIN OF THE MILKY WAY"

(National Gallery)

Jupiter descending from Olympus, attended by his eagle, is snatching away the infant Hercules from the breast of his mother, Juno, who is lying on her couch attended by *amorini* and her peacock. From the breasts of the goddess bursts forth the constellation known as the "Milky Way."

Painted in oil on canvas. 4 ft. 10 in. h. × 5 ft. 5½ in. w. (1·472 × 1·663).



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Tintoretto began his colossal canvas of the *Paradise* in 1588, and finished it in 1590—the largest painting known in the whole Italian achievement. This stupendous work looks confused as a whole to-day, and has suffered much over its eighty-four feet by thirty-four feet of painting. Its six hundred figures are in detail very fine; but what it was as a complete whole in its first freshness we shall never know. Working upon it in position in the great Council Hall, harassed by crowds of spectators, and assisted in the mixing of his paints and the like offices by his son Domenico, Tintoretto would let no man's hand but his own touch the precious canvas. Unfortunately, the year that saw him complete his great *Paradise* brought Death stalking into the aged painter's home; he lost his beloved daughter Marietta in her thirtieth year, and never wholly recovered from the grief of his loss.

The last work upon which the aged painter wrought is said to have been the *Pope St. Marcellus in Glory* at S. Marziale in Venice. But he felt that the *Paradise* was the crown of his career. In his seventy-fifth year he was seized with a severe attack of indigestion, and the feeble body was no longer strong enough to sustain the energy of the fierce fires of his will; after three weeks of great suffering, four years after the old giant put his last furious brushing upon his great *Paradise*, on the 31st of the May of 1594, his "soul, with a short sigh, escaped from earth to heaven," as the old writer has written it, he having on the day before made his will, that his son Domenico should finish his incomplete pictures. His body was buried with great pomp in S. Maria dell' Orto, by the side of his beloved daughter Marietta, where they lay

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side by side until 1866, when the tombs of the Vescovi and Robusti families were opened by order of the authorities and the bones of the dead reburied in a chapel to the right of the choir.

Tintoretto stands amongst the giants of Art in all time; and when genius has reached, in its supreme endeavour, to such heights as he trod, men look up at him and find it something like sacrilege to hint at lesser moments. But no man was more unequal than Tintoretto. All through his life he created works that assail his high credit; and it is insincere to see in all he did the mightiest paintings of all time. He had great and serious blemishes; and it is no tribute to his greatness to see greatness in his littlenesses. But when Tintoretto got away upon a congenial subject, he walked the heights. Folk said in his day that he worked with three pencils or brushes—one of gold, one of silver, and one of iron. 'Twas a figure of speech which has led to the belief that he worked with three brushes at the same time—the which were futile, and no source of credit or honour to any man. But he wrought in gold and silver and iron nevertheless.

Unlike his great fellow-artists Titian and Paolo Veronese, who revelled in display and lived in handsome and dandified fashion, Tintoretto lived quietly, shunning pomp and circumstance, in his house, now 3136 Calle Longa, hard by the church where he is buried, rarely leaving Venice, giving his whole life and energy to his art—even when his intimates forgathered in his studio, not ceasing from his toil. An agreement is still to be seen,

in which he undertakes to paint two large historical canvases and seven portraits in two months! Happy in his home life, a genial and humorous man, he was content simply to be great.

Tintoretto had few pupils; and of those to whom he taught the mysteries few came to high achievement—except his daughter Marietta and Martin de Vos, the Fleming. His son Domenico Robusti (1562-1639) would have had no reputation had he not been the son of his father.

With Tintoretto passed away the mighty art of the Renaissance in Venice—Bassano had died a couple of years before him; Veronese was already six years in his grave; Titian was dead eighteen years; Michelangelo's fevered life had been still some thirty years.

We may take it for granted that Vasari's estimate of the art of Tintoretto, written whilst the painter was still alive, reflects the general opinion of his time. It contains a most significant passage. Says gossip Vasari: "A great lover of the arts, he delights in playing on sundry musical instruments; he is a very agreeable person, but, as far as regards painting, he has the most capricious hand, and the boldest, most extravagant, and most obstinate brain that painter ever possessed, of which his works and their fantastic composition give proof, being so different from the usage of other painters. Indeed, Robusti becomes more than ever extravagant in his latest inventions, and in the strange fancies that he has wrought almost without design, as though he desired to treat art but as jest. He will *sometimes present, as finished, sketches which are just such mere outlines that the beholder sees before him pencil marks made by chance, the result of a bold carelessness rather than*

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the fruits of design and judgment." Is not that exactly what contemporary criticism has written of all Impressionistic art, whether of Turner or others, the moment the artist frees himself from conventions and soars into the region of colour-music? Tintoretto, in simple fact, had rediscovered the revelation of Titian, and slowly realised, as his skill increased, that the general impression of the whole is of enormously greater value than the polishing of details. He had found that finish and elaborate modelling was only for the eye at close vision—that it was worthless and waste in creating the impression desired when the beholder stood back far enough to focus the design as a whole. And in developing the art towards Impressionism, he thrust forward the art of painting leagues further towards the achievement of the great Spaniards and Dutchmen. His art, with the art of Titian and Bassano, was to be a revelation to Velasquez; Velasquez was to hand on the revelation to the Frenchman Manet; and it is through Velasquez and Hals and Rembrandt and Manet that the great achievement of modern art found the way to its fulness of utterance.

Tintoretto held that black and white are the most beautiful colours; and in the saying is a great truth. The two extremes of the palette will yield more complete and perfect utterance than all the rest. And he has not discovered the mystery of colour who has not discovered this fact.

Art, said Tintoretto, does not copy Nature, it transcends Nature.

Tintoretto was the summing-up of the Venetian genius, as Michelangelo of the Florentine. He thrust

forward the realm of painting in its utterance of colour, in its impressionism, in its dramatic intensity, in its sense of values of the tones of colour, to astounding lengths. His extent of accomplishment was prodigious. He painted square yards of canvas with consummate art where most men of genius covered inches. Careless of his fees, he painted that he might utter the great emotions that gripped his senses in forthright achievements. For money, the friendship of the great, for worldly splendour he cared not a jot. His girl Marietta took his chief human love. His passion was for Work—for Achievement. In his realm no man ever surpassed him. There was no need for such as Ruskin to find splendour in his very faults. His art is so vast that it can carry blemishes —and they were many. San Rocco proves that he could paint unluminous cold canvases with the worst. But his command of, and instinct for, the haunting and imagination-compelling emotions created by chiaroscuro, compelled even otherwise faulty craftsmanship to yield profound utterance. Vast of vision, tempestuous, daring, he came to compel tragedy to yield him the highest dramatic intensity. He flung the laws of the academies out of window, and forced his art to say his desire.

The salt-laden breezes from the sea, the smoke of altar candles and of incense, have done their worst upon many of the masterpieces of Tintoretto. The accursed hand of the restorer has done even worse for his fame. The flames of the candles have scorched his canvases. But his achievement was so wide and vast that many of his works endure to hint of the ghosts of such as have departed.

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There is an ever-increasing habit to-day to lower the achievement of Paolo Veronese—the which but betrays the limitations of the scientific without lowering the stature of Veronese a hair's breadth. The man who can see in the art of Veronese but the "glorified scene-painter," has no great power of artistic sensing. Veronese had the great and deep secret of all art—the fit employment of his means to suggest the mood. Stately, magnificent, and one of the supreme decorative painters of all time, he could also move us by the intenseness of his motive.

To disparage Veronese or Tintoretto in order to set one above the other, is to miss the art of both. Tintoretto is never at his supreme range in a great canvas; Veronese becomes greater the greater his canvas. But Veronese had not the intense tragic sense of Tintoretto. Veronese had an astoundingly delicate sense of balance, a just taste that never fatigues; Tintoretto paints like a fury, overwhelms us, leaves us fatigued. Tintoretto is generally hailed as the greatest of Venetian draughtsmen—he found his equal in Veronese. In composition he found his master.

Large-hearted, simple, clean of life, generous of hand, a hot-tempered man, quickly moved to anger, as quickly appeased, Tintoretto stands out a very Titan in the art achievement of his race. That, in the quarrel of Titian and Tintoretto, Titian was the aggressor is certain, for between Veronese and Tintoretto the friendship was never broken nor marred.

With Tintoretto in Venice and Michelangelo in Florence the Renaissance in Italy came to its sublime

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harvest, and with their passing the voice of its art was stilled. There remained painters who strove to utter the new art, but they at first fell to impotence under the weight of the giants. Slowly, however, they sought to increase the realm of the artistic utterance, but the full revelation was to pass out of Italy.

Before we leave the achievement of the Renaissance in Italy, and follow the Italian essay in the so-called Decline, and the rise and achievement of the Spanish genius, it is interesting to weigh the Florentine ideals and the Venetians. The Florentines seeking to utter art through form and line, to which colour was subordinated, undoubtedly uttered a mystic sense more exquisitely than the Venetians. This mystic and spiritual sense, the sense of wonder and awe, however, the Florentines had in marked contrast to the Venetians; and whether, had they possessed the colour faculty of the Venetians, they would not have stated it in terms of colour, we shall never know. The Venetians excelled in the lyrical gifts. Painting they thrust forward to far greater power of utterance, enlarged its gamut, increased its range, and deepened its significance. Giorgione and Titian, Correggio and Veronese and Tintoretto were to light the path to Spain and the Netherlands. The Italians who followed are not to be despised as mere decadents. Their vision was blurred by the majesty of the genius of these very men, and they fell to the academic decadence that lies in becoming subject to other men, and trying to see life through the spectacles of the art of others instead of creating the craftsmanship that shall utter their own souls. But their weaknesses have been exaggerated, their effort to free themselves and to find the way to a fuller

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art has not received justice. They held too great a vogue for long; they have suffered too black an eclipse. But the so-called Decline had its masters and its significances. Venice thrice, or more, brought forth masters, and the rest of Italy others. It behoves us next to look upon their endeavour with just eyes, for their art had considerable consequences for good as for evil on the years to come.

THE END OF VOLUME II.

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